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A
JOURNAL
OR
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES,
AND LABOUR OF LOVE
IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY,
OF THAT
ANCIENT, EMINENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST,
GEORGE FOX;

*Who Departed this Life in great Peace with the Lord, the 13th
of the 11th Month, 1690.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

—◆◆—
VOL. I.

DAN. xii. 3. And they that turn many to Righteousness, shall shine as
the Stars for ever and ever.

VERSE 4. Many shall run to and fro; and Knowledge shall be increased.

2 TIM. ii. 12. If we suffer, we shall also reign with him; (i. e. with
Christ.)

—◆◆—
London:

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1694.

A
JOURNAL
OR
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE



GEORGE FOX;

His Departure from this life in great Peace with the Lord, the 13th
of the 11th Month, 1893.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Vol. I.

Part, etc. 2. And they that turn many to righteousness shall shine as
the stars for ever and ever.
Part, etc. 3. Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.
Part, etc. 4. If we suffer, we shall also reign with him: (i.e. with
Christ.)

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1897.

THE PREFACE;

Being a Summary Account of the divers Dispensations of God to Men, from the beginning of the world to that of our present age, by the ministry and testimony of his faithful servant GEORGE FOX, as an introduction to the ensuing Journal.

DIVERS have been the dispensations of God since the creation of the world unto the sons of men; but the great end of all of them has been the renown of his own excellent name in the creation and restoration of man: man, the emblem of himself, as a God on earth and the glory of all his works. The world began with innocency: all was then good that the good God had made: and as he blessed the works of his hands, so their natures and harmony magnified him their Creator. Then the morning stars sang together for joy, and all parts of his works said Amen to his law: not a jarr in the whole frame, but man in paradise, the beasts in the field, the fowl in the air, the fish in the sea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth; yea the air, the earth, the water and fire worshipped, praised and exalted his power, wisdom and goodness. O holy sabbath, O holy day to the Lord!

But this happy state lasted not long: for man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aspire above his place, unhappily yielded against command and duty, as well as interest and felicity; and so fell below it, lost the divine image, the wisdom, power and purity he was made in. By which, being no longer fit for paradise, he was expelled that garden of God, his proper dwelling and residence, and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the presence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of beasts.

Yet God, that made him had pity on him; for He seeing he was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an origi-

nal presumption in him, but through the subtilty of the serpent (that had first fallen from his own state, and by the mediation of the woman, man's own nature and companion, whom the serpent had first deluded,) in his infinite goodness and wisdom found out a way to repair the breach, recover the loss, and restore fallen man again by a nobler and more excellent Adam, promised to be born of a woman; that as by means of a woman the evil one had prevailed upon man, by a woman also He should come into the world, who would prevail against him and bruise his head, and deliver man from his power: and which, in a signal manner, by the dispensation of the Son of God in the flesh, in the fullness of time, was personally and fully accomplished by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his power was not limited, in the manifestation of it, to that time; for both before and since his blessed manifestation in the flesh, He has been the light and life, the rock and strength of all that ever feared God: present with them in their temptations, followed them in their travels and afflictions, and supported and carried them through and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this Abel's heart excelled Cain's, and Seth obtained the pre-eminence, and Enoch walked with God. It was this that strove with the old world, and which they rebelled against, and which sanctified and instructed Noah to salvation.

But the outward dispensation that followed the benighted state of man, after his fall, especially among the patriarchs, was generally that of angels; as the scriptures of the Old Testament do in many places express, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the law by Moses, which was also delivered by angels, as the apostle tells us. This dispensation was much outward, and suited to a low and servile state; called therefore that of a school-master, to point out and prepare that people to look and long for the Messiah, who would deliver them from the servitude of a ceremonious and imperfect dispensation, by knowing the realities of those mysterious representations in themselves. In this time the law was written on stone, the temple built with hands attended with an outward priesthood and external rites, and ceremonies, that were shadows of the good things that were to come, and were only to serve till the Seed came, or the more excellent and general manifestation of Christ, to whom was the promise, and to all men only in him, in whom it was Yea and Amen; even life from death, immortality and eternal life.

This the prophets foresaw, and comforted the believing Jews in the certainty of it; which was the top of the Mosaical dispensation, and which ended in John's ministry, the forerunner of the Messiah, as John's was finished in him, the fulness of all. And God, that at sundry times, and in divers manners had spoken to the fathers by his servants the prophets, spoke then by his Son Christ Jesus, who is heir of all things; being the gospel day, which is the dispensation of sonship; bringing in thereby a nearer testament and a better hope; even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the restitution of all things; yea, the restoration of the kingdom unto Israel.

Now the Spirit, that was more sparingly communicated in former dispensations, began to be poured forth upon all flesh, according to the prophet Joel, and the light that shined in darkness, or but dimly before, the most gracious God caused to shine out of darkness, and the day-star began to arise in the hearts of believers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the face (or appearance) of his Son Christ Jesus.

Now the poor in spirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirsty after righteousness, the peacemakers, the pure in heart, the merciful and the persecuted, came more especially in remembrance before the Lord, and were sought out and blessed by Israel's true Shepherd. Old Jerusalem with her children grew out of date, and the New Jerusalem into request, the mother of the sons of the gospel day. Wherefore no more at old Jerusalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worshipped above other places; for, behold, he is declared and preached a Spirit, and he will be known as such, and worshipped in the Spirit and in the Truth. He will come nearer than of old time, and he will write his law in the heart, and put his fear and spirit in the inward parts, according to his promise. Then signs, types and shadows flew away, the day having discovered their insufficiency in not reaching to the inside of the cup, to the cleansing of the conscience; and all elementary services were expired in and by him that is the substance of all.

And to this great and blessed end of the dispensation of the Son of God, did the apostles testify, whom he had chosen and appointed by his spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and superstition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to Christ's light and spirit that shined in them; that they might be quickened from the sins and trespasses in which they were dead, to serve the living God in the newness of the spirit of life, and walk as

children of the light, and of the day, even the day of holiness: for such put on Christ, the light of the world, and make no more provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof. So that the light, spirit and grace that comes by Christ, and appears in man, was what the apostles ministered from, and turned peoples minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Christ in their day. For which cause they advised them not to quench the spirit, but wait for the spirit, and speak by the spirit, and pray by the spirit, and walk in the spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God; born, not of flesh and blood, or of the will of man, but of the will of God; by doing his will, and denying their own; by drinking of Christ's cup, and being baptised with his baptism of self-denial: the way and path that all the heirs of life have trod to blessedness. But alas! even in the apostles days, (those bright stars of the first magnitude of the Gospel light,) some clouds (foretelling an eclipse of this primitive glory) began to appear, and several of them gave early caution of it to the Christians of their time; that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling away from the power of godliness and the purity of that spiritual dispensation, by such as sought to make a fair shew in the flesh, but with whom the offence of the cross ceased: yet with this comfortable conclusion, that they saw beyond it a more glorious time than ever, to the true church. Their sight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jesus, came so to pass: for Christians degenerated apace into outsides, as days and meats, and divers other ceremonies. And which was worse, they fell into strife and contention about them, separating one from another, then envying, and, as they had power, persecuting one another, to the shame and scandal of their common Christianity, and grievous stumbling and offence of the heathen, among whom the Lord had so long and so marvellously preserved them. And having got at last the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the Christian profession, they changed what they could, the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world, into a worldly kingdom; or at least stiled the worldly kingdom that was in their hands the kingdom of Christ, and so they became worldly, and not true Christians. Then human inventions and novelties, both in doctrine and worship, crowded fast into the church; a door being opened thereunto by the grossness and carnality that appeared then among the generality of Christians; who had

long since left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly spirit, and given themselves up to superstition, will-worship, and voluntary humility. And as superstition is blind, so it is heady and furious; for all must stoop to its blind and boundless zeal or perish by it: in the name of the Spirit, persecuting the very appearance of the Spirit of God in others, and opposing that in them which they resisted in themselves, viz. the Light, Grace and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; but always under the notion of innovation, heresy, schism, or some such plausible name. Though Christianity allows of no name or pretence whatever for persecuting of any man for matters of mere religion; religion being in its very nature, meek, gentle and forbearing; and consists of faith, hope, and charity, which no persecutor can have, whilst he remains a persecutor; in that a man cannot believe well, or hope well, or have a charitable or tender regard to another, whilst he would violate his mind or persecute his body for matters of faith or worship towards his God.

Thus the false church sprang up, and mounted the chair. But though she lost her nature, she would keep her good name of the Lamb's bride, the true church and mother of the faithful; constraining all to receive her mark, either in the forehead or right hand, publicly or privately: but indeed and in truth she was Mystery Babylon, the mother of harlots: mother of those that with all their show and outside of religion, were adulterated and gone from the spirit, nature, and life of Christ, and grown vain, worldly, ambitious, covetous, cruel, &c. which are the fruits of the flesh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was that the true church fled into the wilderness, that is, from superstition and violence, to a retired, solitary and lonely state; hidden and as it were out of sight of men, though not out of the world: which shows that her wonted visibility was not essential to the being of a true church in the judgment of the Holy Ghost; she being as true a church in the wilderness, though not as visible and lustrous as when she was in her former splendour of profession. In this state many attempts she made to return, but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up, and many of her excellent children in several nations and centuries fell by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not fall from their faithfulness to the truth.

The last age did set some steps towards it, both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But practice quickly failed, for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well

among the professors of the reformation as those they reformed from ; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves very early to earthly policy and power to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with spiritual weapons ; which I have often thought, has been one of the greatest reasons the reformation made no better progress, as to the life and soul of religion : for whilst the reformers were lowly and spiritually minded, and trusted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church such as, one might reasonably say, should be saved. For they were not so careful to be safe from persecution as to be faithful under it.

Being more concerned to spread the truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted their sufferings upon them ; and it will be well if the Lord suffer them not to fall by the very same way they took to stand. In doctrine they were in some things short, in other things, to avoid one extreme they ran into another : and for worship, there was for the generality, more of man than God. They owned the Spirit, Inspiration and Revelation indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from it, in the reading of the Scriptures of Truth ; and this was their plea, the Scripture was the text, the Spirit the interpreter, and that to every one for himself. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art, that remained both in praying and preaching, and of worldly authority and worldly greatness in their ministers, especially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. God was therefore pleased among us, to shift from vessel to vessel : and the next remove humbled the ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day, and catechising of children and servants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in public.

But even as these grew into power, they were not only for whipping some out, but others into the temple ; and they appeared rigid in their spirits, rather than severe in their lives, and more for a party than for piety, which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and select. They would not communicate at large, or in common with others ; but formed churches among themselves of such as

could give some account of their conversion, at least, of very promising experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts, and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship they kept together. These people were somewhat of a softer temper, and seemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodness, rather than by the terror of its judgments and punishments; by which the former party would have terrified people into religion.

They also allowed greater liberty to prophecy than those before them; for they admitted any member to speak or pray, as well as their pastor (whom they always chose, and not the civil magistrate). If such found any thing pressing upon them to either duty, even without the distinction of clergy or laity; persons of any trade, be it never so low and mechanical. But alas! even these people suffered great loss: for tasting of worldly empire, and the favour of princes, and the gain that ensued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches, and ministry, and maintenance too, some of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles: and, which was yet worse, turned some of them absolute persecutors of other men for God's sake, that but so lately came themselves out of the furnace, which drove many a step farther, and that was into the water. Another baptism, as believing they were not scripturally baptised; and hoping to find that presence and power of God in submitting to that ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

These people made also profession of neglecting, if not renouncing and censuring, not only the necessity but use of all human learning as to the ministry; and all other qualifications to it besides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and those natural and common to men; and for a time they seemed like John of old, a burning and a shining light, to other societies.

They were very diligent, plain, and serious, strong in scripture, and bold in profession, bearing much reproach and contradiction: but that which others fell by, proved their hurt. For worldly power spoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more; and they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to the fire and Holy Ghost, which was his baptism, who came with a fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in part

only) purge his floor, and take away the dross and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold. Withal, they grew high, rough, and self-righteous, opposing further attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty; in so much that many left them and all visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down, as sheep without a shepherd, and as doves without their mates; seeking their beloved, but could not find him, as their souls desired to know him; whom their souls loved above their chiefest joy.

These people were called Seekers by some, and the Family of Love by others; because, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally to pray or preach, at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do; but waited together in silence, and as any thing rose in any one of their minds that they thought savoured of a divine spring, so they sometimes spoke. But so it was that some of them not keeping in humility and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted above measure, and for want of staying their minds in an humble dependance upon him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law; they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth; to the scandal of those that feared God, and waited daily in the temple, not made with hands, for the consolation of Israel; the Jew inward, and circumcision in spirit.

This people obtained the name of Ranters, from their extravagant discourses and practices. For they interpreted Christ's fulfilling of the law for us, to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required, instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance, and that now it was no sin to do that which before it was a sin to commit; the slavish fear of the law being taken off by Christ, and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it was so. Insomuch that divers fell into gross and enormous practices; pretending in excuse thereof that they could, without evil, commit the same act which was sin in another to do; thereby distinguishing between the action and the evil of it, by the direction of the mind and intention in the doing of it. Which was to make sin superabound by the aboundings of grace, and to turn from the grace of God into wantonness, a securer way of sinning than before: as if Christ came not to take

away sin, but that we might sin more freely at his cost, and with less danger to ourselves. I say, this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to profane.

It was about that very same time, as you may see in the ensuing annals, that the eternal, wise, and good God was pleased, in his infinite love, to honour and visit this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious day-spring from on high; yea with a most sure and certain sound of the word of light and life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel, to an effectual and blessed purpose, can many thousands say, Glory be to the name of the Lord for ever.

For as it reached the conscience and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search, so what people had been vainly seeking without, with much pains and cost, they by this ministry found within; where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz. the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them, as the seed and leaven of the kingdom of God; near all, because in all, and God's talent to all. A faithful and true witness and just monitor in every bosom. The gift and grace of God to life and salvation that appears to all, though few regard it. This, the traditional Christian, conceited of himself, and strong in his own will and righteousness, and overcome with blind zeal and passion, either despised as a low and common thing, or opposed as a novelty, under many hard names and opprobrious terms; denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any fresh manifestation of God's power and Spirit in man in these days, though never more needed to make true Christians: not unlike those Jews of old that rejected the Son of God at the very same time that they blindly professed to wait for the Messiah to come; because, alas, he appeared not among them according to their carnal mind and expectation.

This brought forth many abusive books, which filled the greater sort with envy, and lesser with rage, and made the way and progress of this blessed testimony straight and narrow indeed to those that received it. However, God owned his own work, and this testimony did effectually reach, gather, comfort and establish, the weary and heavy laden, the hungry and thirsty, the poor and needy, the mournful and sick of many maladies, that had spent all upon physicians of no value, and waited for relief from

heaven; help only from above: seeing upon a serious trial of all things, nothing else would do but Christ himself, the light of his countenance, a touch of his garment and help from his hand, who cured the poor woman's issue, raised the centurion's servant, the widow's son, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother, and like her, they no sooner felt his power and efficacy upon their souls, but they gave up to obey him in a testimony to his power, and with resigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, beatings, prisons, and many other jeopardies that attended them for his blessed name's sake.

And truly, they were very many and very great; so that in all human probability they must have been swallowed up quick of the proud and boisterous waves that swelled and beat against them; but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority, so that the hills often fled and the mountains melted before the power that filled them; working mightily for them as well as in them, one ever following the other. By which they saw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, that all things were possible with him with whom they had to do. And that the more that which God required seemed to cross man's wisdom, and expose them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his glory: insomuch that if ever any people could say in truth, Thou art our sun and our shield, our rock and sanctuary, and by thee we have leaped over a wall, and by thee we have run through a troop, and by thee we have put the armies of the aliens to flight, these people had right to say it. And as God had delivered their souls of the wearisome burthens of sin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of spirit, and satisfied their great hunger and thirst after eternal righteousness, and filled them with the good things of his own house, and made them stewards of his manifold gifts; so they went forth to all quarters of these nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof, what God had done for them; what they had found, and where and how they had found it; viz. the way to peace with God: inviting them to come and see and taste for themselves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their testimony was to the principle of God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom, as the only blessed means appointed of God to quicken, convince, and sanctify man; so they opened to them what it was in itself, and what it was given to them for: how they might know it from their own spirit, and that of the subtle ap-

pearance of the evil one ; and what it would do for all those whose minds are turned off from the vanity of the world and its lifeless ways and teachers, and adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin in all its appearances, and shows how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions : giving power to such to avoid and resist those things that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith, and good works : that so man, whom sin hath made as a wilderness, overrun with briers and thorns, might become as the garden of God, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right hand planting, to his eternal praise.

But these experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom could not run when they list, or pray or preach when they pleased, but as the Christ their Redeemer prepared and moved them by his own blessed Spirit, for which they waited in their services and meetings, and spoke as that gave them utterance, and which was as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry, and formal Pharisees. And so it plainly appeared to the serious minded, whose spiritual eye the Lord Jesus had in any measure opened ; so that to one was given the word of exhortation, to another the word of reproof, to another the word of consolation, and all by the same spirit and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly, they waxed strong and bold through faithfulness ; and by the power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus became very fruitful ; thousands, in a short time, being turned to the Truth through their testimony in ministry and sufferings, insomuch as in most counties, and many of the considerable towns of England, meetings were settled, and daily there were added such as should be saved. For they were diligent to plant and to water, and the Lord blessed their labours with an exceeding great increase ; notwithstanding all the opposition made to their blessed progress, by false rumors, calumnies, and bitter persecutions ; not only from the powers of the earth, but from every one that listed to injure and abuse them : so that they seemed indeed to be as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all the day long.

It were fitter for a volume than a preface, but so much as to repeat the contents of their cruel sufferings from professors as well as from profane, and from magistrates as well as the rabble, that it may well be said of this abused

and despised people, they went forth weeping and sowed in tears, bearing testimony to the precious seed, the seed of the kingdom, which stands not in words, the finest the highest that man's wit can use, but in power; the power of Christ Jesus, to whom God the Father hath given all power in heaven and in earth, that he might rule angels above, and men below; who empowered them, as their work witnesseth, by the many that were turned through their ministry from darkness to the light, and out of the broad into the narrow way, bringing people to a weighty, serious, and god-like conversation; the practice of that doctrine which they taught.

And as without this secret divine power there is no quickening and regenerating of dead souls, so the want of this generating and begetting power and life is the cause of the little fruit that the many ministries that have been, and are in the world, bring forth. O that both ministers and people were sensible of this! my soul is often troubled for them, and sorrow and mourning compass me about for their sakes. O! that they were wise; O! that they would consider, and lay to heart the things that truly and substantially make for their lasting peace.

Two things are to be briefly touched upon; the doctrine they taught, and the example they led among the people. I have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner stone of their fabric: and to speak eminently and properly, their characteristic, or main distinguishing point or principle, viz. the light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation. This I say, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, Repentance from dead works to serve the living God; which comprehends three operations: first, a sight of sin; secondly, a sense and godly sorrow for it; thirdly, an amendment for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came sight; and of sight came sense and sorrow; and of sense and sorrow, came amendment of life: which doctrine of repentance leads to justification; that is, forgiveness of the sins that are past through Christ the alone propitiation and the sanctification or purgation of the soul from the defiling nature and habits of sin present; which is justification in the complete sense of that word; comprehending both justification from the guilt of the sins that are past, as if they had never been committed, through the love and

mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and the creatures being made inwardly just through the cleansing and sanctifying power and spirit of Christ revealed in the soul, which is commonly called sanctification.

From hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the mark of the price of the high calling of all true Christians, viz. perfection from sin, according to the Scriptures of Truth, which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming and the nature of his kingdom, and for which his spirit was given. But they never held a perfection in wisdom and glory in this life, or from natural infirmities or death, as some have with a weak or ill mind, imagined and insinuated against them.

This they called a redeemed state, regeneration, or the new birth: teaching every where, according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Third, to an acknowledgment of eternal rewards and punishments, as they have good reason; for else of all people, certainly they must be the most miserable; who for about forty years have been exceeding great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases, treated worse than the worst of men, yea, as the refuse and off-scowering of all things.

This was the purport of their doctrine and ministry, which, for the most part, is what other professors of Christianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the power of godliness; that has been long lost by men departing from that principle and seed of life that is in man, and which man has not regarded, but lost the sense of; and in and by which he can only be quickened in his mind to serve the living God in newness of life. - For as the life of religion was lost, and the generality lived and worshipped God after their own wills, and not after the will of God, nor the mind of Christ, which stood in the works and fruits of the Holy Spirit; so that which they pressed was not notion, but experience, no formality, but godliness; as being sensible in themselves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, that without holiness no man should ever see the Lord with comfort.

Besides these doctrines, and out of them, as the larger branches, there sprang forth several particular doctrines, that did exemplify and further explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before observed, in their lives and examples. As,

I. Communion and loving one another. This is a noted mark in the mouth of all sorts of people concerning them.

They will meet, they will help and stick one to another. Whence it is common to hear some say, Look how the Quakers love and take care of one another. Others less moderate will say, The Quakers love none but themselves; and if loving one another and having an intimate communion in religion, and constant care to meet to worship God and help one another, be any mark of primitive Christianity, they had it, blessed be the Lord, in an ample manner.

II. To love enemies. This they both taught and practised: for they did not only refuse to be revenged for injuries done them, and condemned it as of an unchristian spirit, but they did freely forgive, yea, help and relieve those that had been cruel to them, when it was in their power to have been even with them, of which many and singular instances might be given; endeavouring, through patience, to overcome all injustice and oppression, and preaching this doctrine as Christian for others to follow.

III. The sufficiency of truth speaking, according to Christ's own form of words, of Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay, among Christians without swearing, both from Christ's express prohibition to swear at all. Mat. v. And for that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themselves, there was both no necessity for an oath, and it would be a reproach to their Christian veracity to assure their truth by such an extraordinary way of speaking; but offering at the same time, to be punished to the full, for false speaking, as others for perjury, if ever guilty of it; and hereby they exclude, with all true, all false and profane swearing; for which the land did and doth mourn, and the great God was and is not a little offended with it.

IV. Not fighting but suffering, is another testimony peculiar to this people: they affirm that Christianity teacheth people to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and to learn war no more, so that the wolf may lie down with the lamb, and the lion with the calf, and nothing that destroys be entertained in the hearts of people; exhorting them to employ their zeal against sin, and turn their anger against satan, and no longer war one against another; because, all wars and fightings come of men's own hearts lusts, according to the apostle James, and not of the meek spirit of Christ Jesus who is captain of another warfare, and which is carried on with other weapons. Thus, as truth speaking succeeded swearing, so faith and truth succeeded fighting, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they for this to be obnoxious to civil government, since if

they cannot fight for it, neither can they fight against it; which is no mean security to the state: nor is it reasonable that people should be blamed for not doing more for others than they can do for themselves. And Christianity set aside, if the costs and fruits of war were well considered, peace, with its inconveniencies, is generally preferable. But though they were not for fighting, they were for submitting to government; and that, not only for fear, but for conscience sake, where government doth not interfere with conscience: believing it to be an ordinance of God, and where it is justly administered, a great benefit to mankind; though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in some, and interest in others, to have felt the strokes of it with greater weight and rigour than any other persuasion in this age; whilst they, of all others (religion set aside) have given the civil magistrate the least occasion of trouble in the discharge of his office.

V. Another part of the character of this people is, they refuse to pay tithes, or maintenance to a national ministry, and that for two reasons; the one is, that they believe all compelled maintenance, even to gospel ministers, to be unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's command, who said, Freely you have received, freely give: at least, that the maintenance of gospel ministers should be free and not forced. The other reason of their refusal is, because those ministers are not gospel ones, in that the Holy Ghost is not their foundation, but human arts and parts: so that it is not matter of humour or sullenness, but pure conscience towards God, that they cannot help to support national ministers where they dwell, which are but too much and too visibly become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. Not to respect persons, was another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffeted and abused. They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect; though to virtue and authority they ever made a difference, but after their plain and homely manner, yet sincere and substantial way; well remembering the example of Mordecai and Elihu, but more especially the command of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, who forbad his followers to call men rabbi, which implies lord and master, also the fashionable greeting and salutations of those times; that so self-love and honour, to which the proud mind of man is incident, in his fallen estate, might not be indulged but rebuked.

They also used the plain language of Thou and Thee to

a single person, whatever was his degree among men. And indeed the wisdom of God was much seen, in bringing forth this people in so plain an appearance; for it was a close and distinguishing test upon the spirit of those they came among; shewing their insides and what predominated, notwithstanding their high and great profession of religion. This, among the rest, sounded so harsh to many of them, and they took it so ill, that they would say, 'Thou me, thou my dog: if thou thouest me, I'll thou thy teeth down thy throat,' forgetting the language they use to God in their own prayers, and the common stile of the Scriptures, and that it is an absolute and essential propriety of speech: and what good had their religion done them, who were so sensibly touched with indignation for the use of this plain, honest, and true speech?

VI. They recommended silence by their example, having very few words upon all occasions: they were at a word in dealing; nor could their customers' many words tempt them from it; having more regard for truth than custom, to example than gain, they sought solitude; but when in company, they would neither use nor willingly hear unnecessary as well as unlawful discourses; whereby they preserved their minds pure and undisturbed from unprofitable thoughts and diversions: nor could they humour the custom of 'Good night, Good morrow, God speed;' for they knew the night was good, and the day was good, without wishing of either; and that in the other expression, the holy name of God was too lightly and unthinkingly used, and therefore taken in vain. Besides, they were words and wishes of course, and are usually as little meant, as are love and service in the custom of cap and knee; and superfluity in those as well as in other things was burthensome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to use them, but found themselves often pressed to reprove the practice.

For the same reason they forebore drinking to people, or pledging of them, as the manner of the world is: a practice that is not only unnecessary, but they thought evil in the tendencies of it; being a provocation to drinking more than did people good, as well as that it was in itself vain and heathenish.

VII. Their way of marriage is peculiar to them; and is a distinguishing practice from all other societies professing Christianity. They say that marriage is an ordinance of God, and that God only can rightly join man and woman in marriage. Therefore they use neither priest nor magistrate, but the man and woman concerned take each other

as husband and wife in the presence of divers credible witnesses, promising unto each other with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation till death shall separate them. But, antecedent to all this, they first present themselves to the Monthly Meeting for the affairs of the church, where they reside, there declaring their intentions to take one another as man and wife, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary questions, as in case of parents, or guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their consent, &c. The method of the meeting is to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons to enquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians; and make report thereof to the next Monthly Meeting; where the same parties are desired to give their attendance. In case it appears they proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in their meeting book; and in case the woman be a widow and hath children, due care is there taken that provision also be made by her for the orphans before the said marriage; advising the parties concerned to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours, as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage: where they take one another by the hand, and by name promising reciprocally after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative, in a way of certificate, is made, to which the said parties first set their hands, thereby making it their act and deed; and then divers of the relations, spectators and auditors set their names as witnesses of what they said and signed; which certificate is afterward registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged in courts of law a good marriage, where it has been disputed and contested, for want of the accustomed formality of priest and ring, &c. which ceremonies they have refused, not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded, in as much as no Scripture example tells us, that the priest had any other part of old time, than that of a witness among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it as an imposition, to advance the power and profits of the clergy. And for the use of the ring, it is enough to say that it was an heathen and vain custom, and never in practice among the people of God, Jews or primitive Christians. The words of the

usual form, as 'With my body I thee worship,' &c. are hardly defensible: in short, they are more careful, exact and regular than any form now used, and it is free of the inconveniencies other methods are attended with. Their care and checks being so many, and such, as no clandestine marriages can be performed among them.

VIII. It may not be unfit to say something here of their births and burials, which make up so much of the pomp and solemnity of too many called Christians. For births, the parents name their own children, which is usually some days after they are born, in the presence of the midwife (if she can be there) and those that were at the birth, &c. who afterward sign a certificate, for that purpose prepared, of the birth and name of the child, or children, which is recorded in a proper book, in the Monthly Meeting, to which the parents belong; avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.

IX. Their burials are performed with the same simplicity. If the corps of the deceased be near any public meeting place, it is usually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of those that accompany it to the ground they bury in, and it so falls out sometimes, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, some or other have a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people there met together: after which, the body is borne away by the young men, or those that are of their neighbourhood, or that were most of the intimacy of the deceased party: the corps being in a plain coffin, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground, they pause some time before they put the body into its grave, that if any one there should have any thing upon them to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed, and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the corps of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality, by the occasion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwise, they have no set rites or ceremonies on those occasions; neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning; they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp, and that what mourning is fit for a Christian to have at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, should be worn in the mind which is only sensible of the loss, and the love they had to them, and remembrance of them, to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodish or unfashionable, leaves nothing of the

substance of things neglected or undone; and as they aim at no more, so that simplicity of life is what they observe with great satisfaction, though it sometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

These things gave them a rough and disagreeable appearance with the generality; who thought them turners of the world upside down, as indeed in some sense they were; but in no other than that wherein Paul was so charged, viz. to bring things back into their primitive and right order again. For these and such like practices of theirs were not the result of humour, as some have fancied, but a fruit of inward sense, which God, through his fear, had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves; being none of their business, as it was not their interest, no, it was not the result of consultation, or a framed design to declare or recommend schism or novelty. But God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the same glass of truth; and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things. What gratified the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life which are not of the Father, but of the world; and from thence sprang, in that night of darkness and apostacy, which hath been over people, through their degeneration from the light and spirit of God, these and many other vain customs; which are seen by the heavenly day of Christ which dawns in the soul, to be, either wrong in their original, or, by time and abuse, hurtful in their practice. And though these things seemed trivial to some, and rendered this people stingy and conceited in such persons opinions; there was and is more in them than they were aware of. It was not very easy to our primitive friends to make themselves sights and spectacles, and the scorn and derision of the world; which they easily foresaw must be the consequence of so unfashionable a conversation in it. But herein was the wisdom of God seen in the foolishness of these things; first, that they discovered the satisfaction and concern that people had in and for the fashions of this world, notwithstanding their pretences to another; in that any disappointment about them came so very near them; that the greatest honesty, virtue, wisdom and ability were unwelcome without them. Secondly, it seasonably and profitably divided conversation; for making their society uneasy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more retirement and solitude, wherein they met with better company, even the Lord, God their Redeemer, and

grew strong in his love, power and wisdom, and were thereby better qualified for his service; and the success abundantly showed it: blessed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not great and learned in the esteem of this world (for then they had not wanted followers upon their own credit and authority) yet they were generally of the most sober of the several persuasions they were in, and of the most repute for religion; and many of them of good capacity, substance and account among men.

And also some among them neither wanted for parts, learning, nor estate; though then, as of old, not many wise, nor noble, &c. were called, or at least received the heavenly call; because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity; but neither do parts or learning make men the better Christians, though the better orators and disputants; and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. Theory and practice, expression and enjoyment; words and life; are two things. Oh! it is the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the self-denying and holy soul that is the Christian; and that frame is the fruit and work of the Spirit, which is the life of Jesus; whose life, though hid in God the Father, is shed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe. Oh! that people did but know this to cleanse them, to circumcise them, to quicken them, and to make them new creatures indeed; recreated or regenerated after Christ Jesus unto good works. That they might live to God and not to themselves; and offer up living prayers and living praises, to the living God, through his own living Spirit, in which he is only to be worshipped in this gospel day. Oh! that they that read me could but feel me; for my heart is affected with this merciful visitation of the Father of Lights and Spirits, to this poor nation, and the whole world through the same testimony. Why should the inhabitants thereof reject it? Why should they lose the blessed benefit of it? Why should they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and say from the heart, 'Speak Lord, for now thy poor servants hear. Oh! that thy will may be done, thy great, thy good and holy will in earth as it is in heaven:' do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us, for we are thine and desire to glorify thee our Creator, both for that, and because thou art our Redeemer; for thou art redeeming us from the earth; from the vanities and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto thee. Oh! this were a brave day for England, if so she could say in truth. But alas, the case is otherwise, for which

some of thine inhabitants, O land of my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears, because of thy transgression and stiff-neckedness; because thou wilt not hear, and fear and return to the rock, even thy rock, O England! from whence thou wert hewn. But be thou warned, O land of great profession, to receive him into thy heart; behold at that door it is, he hath stood so long knocking, but thou wilt yet have none of him. Oh! be thou awakened, least Jerusalem's judgments do swiftly overtake thee, because of Jerusalem's sins that abound in thee. For she abounded in formality, but made void the weighty things of God's law as thou daily doest.

She withstood the Son of God in the flesh, and thou resisteth the Son of God in the spirit. He would have gathered her as an hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and she would not; so would he have gathered thee out of thy lifeless profession, and have brought thee to inherit substance, to have known his power and kingdom, for which he often knocked within, by his grace and spirit, and without by his servants and witnesses; but thou wouldest not be gathered: but on the contrary, as Jerusalem of old persecuted the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh, and crucified him and whipped and imprisoned his servants; so hast thou, O land, crucified to thyself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and done despite to his Spirit of Grace; slighting the fatherly visitation, and persecuting the blessed dispensers of it by thy laws and magistrates; though they have early and late pleaded with thee in the power and spirit of the Lord; in love and meekness, that thou mightest know the Lord and serve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But thou hast evilly entreated and requited them. Thou hast set at naught all their counsel, and would have none of their reproof, as thou shouldest have done. Their appearance was too straight, and their qualifications were too mean for thee to receive them; who like the Jews of old, that cried, Is not this the Carpenter's son, and are not his brethren among us; which of the scribes, of the learned (the orthodox) believe in him? prophesying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing of severe laws to bring it to pass; by endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroying them for abiding faithful to it. But thou hast seen how many governments that rise against them, and determined their downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are

still preserved, and become a great and a considerable people among the middle sort of thy numerous inhabitants. And notwithstanding the many difficulties without and within, which they have laboured under, since the Lord God Eternal first gathered them, they are an increasing people, the Lord still adding unto them, in divers parts, such as shall be saved, if they persevere to the end. And to thee; were they and are they lifted up as a standard, and as a city set upon a hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in their light thou mayest come to see light, even in Christ Jesus, the light of the world; and therefore thy light, and life too, if thou wouldest but turn from thy many evil ways, and receive and obey it. For in the light of the Lamb, must the nations of them that are saved walk, as the Scriptures testify.

Remember, O nation of great profession! how the Lord has waited upon thee since the days of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments with which he has pleaded with thee; and awake and arise out of thy deep sleep, and yet hear (his word in thy heart) that thou mayest live.

Let not this thy day of visitation pass over thy head, nor neglect thou so great salvation as is this which is come to thy house, Oh England! For why shouldest thou die, Oh land that God desires to bless? Be assured it is he that has been in the midst of this people, in the midst of thee; and no delusion, as thy mistaken teachers have made thee believe. And this thou shalt find by their marks and fruits, if thou wilt consider them in the spirit of moderation. For,

I. They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were rent as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And this was seen by the great alteration it made, and their stricter course of life, and more godly conversation, that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth or preached in their own time or will, but in the will of God, and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own conversion; which cannot be expressed to carnal men so as to give them any intelligible account; for to such it is as Christ said, like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows whence it cometh, or whither it goeth: yet this proof and seal went along with their ministry, that many were turned from their lifeless professions, and the evil of their ways, to the knowledge of God, and an holy life, as thousands can witness. And as they freely received what

they had to say from the Lord, so they freely administered it to others.

III. The bent and stress of their ministry was conversion to God, regeneration and holiness; not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving off in religion the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and pressing earnestly the substantial, the necessary and profitable part; as all upon a serious reflection must and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle by which all that they asserted, preached, and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them and known, through experience, to them to be true; which is a high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry; both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test. For as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of this principle, which they asserted was in them that they preached unto, and unto that directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of those things which they had affirmed of it, and its manifestation and work in man. And this is more than the many ministries in the world pretend to. They declare of religion, say many things true, in words of God, Christ, and the Spirit, of holiness and heaven; that all men should repent and mend their lives, or they will go to hell, &c.; but which of them all pretend to speak of their own knowledge and experience? or ever directed men to a divine principle, or agent, placed of God in man, to help him, and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them.

Some of them indeed have spoke of the Spirit, and the operations of it to sanctification, and performance of worship to God; but where and how to find it and wait in it to perform, was yet as a mystery reserved for this further degree of reformation. So that this people did not only in words more than equally press repentance, conversion, and holiness, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed those to whom they preached, to a sufficient principle, and told them where it is, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their soul's happiness; which is more than theory and speculations, upon which most other ministries depend; for here is certainly a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward state and condition of

people, which is an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministering from it, and not their own imaginations, glosses or comments upon scripture: for nothing reaches the heart, but what is from the heart, or pierces the conscience, but what comes from a living conscience: insomuch as it hath often happened, where people have under secrecy revealed their state or condition to some choice friends for advice or ease, they have been so particularly directed in the ministry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with discovering their secrets, and telling the preachers their cases. Yea, the very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out of this inward appearance of Christ, Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel. And those that have embraced this divine principle have found this mark of its truth and divinity (that the woman of Samaria did of Christ when in the flesh, to be the Messiah,) viz. it had told them all that ever they did; showed them their insides, the most inward secrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet, of which thousands can at this day give in their witness. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that such as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half had not been told to them of what they have seen of the power, purity, wisdom, mercy and goodness of God herein.

VI. The accomplishments with which this principle fitted, even some of the meanest of this people, for their work and service; furnishing some of them with an extraordinary understanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency and taking way of expression, which gave occasion to some to wonder, saying of them, as of their master, Is not this such a mechanic's son? how came he by this learning? as from thence others took occasion to suspect and insinuate they were Jesuits in disguise, who have had the reputation of learned men for an age past, though there was not the least ground of truth for any such reflection.

VII. That they rise low, and despised, and hated, as the primitive Christians did, and not by the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations in part did: but in all things it may be said, this people were brought forth in the cross, in a contradiction to the ways, worship, fashion and customs of this world; yea, against wind and tide, that so no flesh might glory before God.

They could have no design to themselves in this work, thus to expose themselves to scorn and abuse, to spend

and be spent; leaving wife and children, house and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive message, John i. 1. 5. revived in their spirits, by the good spirit and power of God, viz. That God is light, and in him is no darkness at all; and that he has sent his Son a light into the world to enlighten all men in order to salvation; and that they that say they have fellowship with God and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkness, viz. in disobedience to the light in their consciences, and after the vanity of this world, they lie and do not the truth. But that all such as love the light and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of Jesus Christ his son should cleanse them from all sin.

VIII. Their known great constancy and patience in suffering for their testimony, in all the branches of it, and that, sometimes unto death, by beatings, bruising, long and crowded imprisonments, and noisome dungeons. Four of them in New England dying by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching amongst that people; besides banishments and excessive plunders and sequestrations of their goods and estates, almost in all parts, not easily to be expressed, and less to be endured, but by those that have the support of a good and glorious cause; refusing deliverance by any indirect ways or means, as often as it was offered to them.

IX. That they did not only not show any disposition to revenge, when it was at any time in their power, but forgave their cruel enemies; shewing mercy to those that had none for them.

X. Their plainness with those in authority; not unlike the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them to their faces of their private and public sins, and their prophecies to them of their afflictions and downfall, when in the top of their glory; also of some national judgments, as of the plague, and fire of London, in express terms, and likewise particular ones to divers persecutors, which accordingly overtook them, and which were very remarkable in the places where they dwelt, and in time they may be made public for the glory of God.

Thus reader, thou seest this people in their rise, principles, ministry, and progress, both their general and particular testimony, by which thou mayest be informed how and upon what foot they sprung and became so considerable a people. It remains next that I shew also their care, conduct and discipline, as a Christian and reformed So-

ciety, that they might be found living up to their own principles and profession. And this, the rather, because they have hardly suffered more in their character from the unjust charge of error, than by the false imputation of disorder; which calumny indeed has not failed to follow all the true steps that were ever made to reformation, and under which reproach none suffered more than the primitive Christians themselves, that were the honour of Christianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and succeeding ages.

This people encreasing daily both in town and country, an holy care fell upon some of the elders among them, for the benefit and service of the church. And the first business in their view, after the example of the primitive saints, was the exercise of charity, to supply the necessities of the poor, and answer the like occasions: wherefore collections were early and liberally made for that and divers other services in the church, and entrusted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of their own, in large proportions, which they never brought to account, or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any service be retarded or disappointed.

They were also very careful that every one that belonged to them, answered their profession in their behaviour among men upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. They found themselves engaged to record their sufferings and services; and in case of marriage, which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but among themselves, they took care that all things were clear between the parties and all others, and it was then rare that any one entertained such inclination to a person on that account, till he or she had communicated it secretly to some very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them: but because the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, sufferings and other matters multiplied, and that it was good that the churches were in some way and method of proceeding in such affairs among them, to the end they might the better correspond upon occasion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another: it pleased the Lord in his wisdom and goodness to open the understanding of the first instrument of this dispensation of life, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; and he felt an holy concern to visit the churches in person

throughout this nation, to begin and establish it among them; and by his epistles the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad, which he also afterwards visited, and helped in that service, as shall be observed when I come to speak of him.

Now the care, conduct, and discipline I have been speaking of, and which is now practised among this people, is as followeth:

III. This godly elder, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that some out of every meeting of worship, should meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church. And as the case required, so those monthly meetings were fewer or more in number in every respective county; four or six meetings of worship usually making one monthly meeting of business. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the said meetings, viz. For the Poor; Orphans orderly walking; Integrity to their profession; Births, Marriages, Burials, Sufferings, &c. And that these monthly meetings should, in each county make up one quarterly meeting, where the most zealous and eminent friends of the county should assemble to communicate, advise, and help one another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a monthly meeting was tender of determining a matter.

Also these quarterly meetings should digest the reports of the monthly meetings, and prepare one for the county, against the yearly meeting; in which the quarterly meetings resolve, which is held yearly in London; where the churches in this nation and other nations and provinces meet, by chosen members of their respective counties, both mutually to communicate their church affairs, and to advise and be advised in any depending case to edification. Also to provide a requisite stock for the discharge of general expenses for general services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

At these meetings any of the members of the churches may come if they please, and speak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter; but the mind of each meeting therein represented is chiefly understood, as to particular cases, in the sense delivered by the persons deputed or chosen for that service.

During their yearly meeting, to which their other meetings refer in their order and resolve themselves, care is taken by a select number, for that service chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes of the said meeting, upon the several matters that have been under con-

sideration therein, to the end that the respective quarterly and monthly meetings may be informed of all proceedings, together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity, and charity : of all which proceedings in yearly, quarterly, and monthly meetings, due record is kept by some one appointed for that service, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened, and usually concluded, in their solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as signal evidences of his love and presence, as in any other their meetings of worship.

It is further to be noted, that in these solemn assemblies for the church's service, there is no one presides among them after the manner of the assemblies of other people ; Christ only being their president, as he is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them, to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of authority but conviction, which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and Spirit in his people : making good his blessed promise, that he would be in the midst of his, where and whenever they were met together in his name, even to the end of the world. So be it.

Now it may be expected, I should here set down what sort of authority is exercised by this people, upon such members of their society, as correspond not in their lives with their profession, and that are refractory to this good and wholesome order settled among them ; and the rather because they have not wanted their reproach and suffering from some tongues, upon this occasion, in a plentiful manner.

The power they exercise is such as Christ has given to his own people, to the end of the world, in the persons of his disciples, viz. to oversee, exhort, reprove, and after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, to disown them, as any more of their communion, or that they will any longer stand charged in the sight and judgment of God or men, with their conversation or behaviour as one of them, until they repent. The subject matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exercised, is first, in relation to common and general practice, and secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession, and distinguish them from all other professors of Christianity ; avoiding two extremes upon which many split, viz. persecution and libertinism. A coercive power to whip people into the temple, that such as will not conform,

though against faith and conscience, shall be punished in their persons or estates; or leaving all loose and at large, as to practice, unaccountable to all but God and the magistrate. To which hurtful extreme nothing has more contributed than the abuse of church power, by such as suffer their passions and private interests to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal punishment. A practice they have been taught to dislike, by their extreme sufferings, as well as their known principle for an universal liberty of conscience.

On the other hand, they equally dislike an independency in society. An unaccountableness in practice and conversation to the terms of their own communion, and to those that are the members of it. They distinguish between imposing any practice that immediately regards faith or worship (which is never to be done nor suffered or submitted unto) and requiring Christian compliance with those methods that only respect church business in its more civil part and concern, and that regard the discreet and orderly maintenance of the character of the society, as a sober and religious community. In short, what is for the promotion of holiness and charity, that men may practice what they profess, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profession, without rebuke. They compel none to them, but oblige those that are of them to walk suitably, or they are denied by them: that is all the mark they set upon them, and the power they exercise, or judge a Christian society can exercise, upon those that are the members of it.

The way of their proceedings against such as have lapsed or transgressed is this. He is visited by some of them, and the matter of fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular testimony, which he, in common, professeth with them. They labour with him in much love and zeal for the good of his soul, the honour of God, and reputation of their profession, to own his fault and condemn it, in as ample a manner as the evil or scandal was given by him; which for the most part, is performed by some written testimony under the party's hand; and if it so happen that the party prove refractory, and is not willing to clear the truth they profess from the reproach of his or her evil doing or unfaithfulness, they, after repeated entreaties and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper to disown such a fact, and the party offending; recording the same as a testimony of their care for the honour of the truth they profess.

And if he or she shall clear their profession and themselves, by sincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly sorrow for so doing, they are received and looked upon again as members of their communion. For as God, so his true people upbraid no man after repentance.

This is the account I had to give of the people of God called Quakers, as to their rise, appearance, principles and practices, in this age of the world, both with respect to their faith and worship, discipline and conversation. And I judge it very proper in this place, because it is to preface the Journal of the first blessed and glorious instrument of this work, and for a testimony to him in his singular qualifications and services, in which he abundantly excelled in this day, and are worthy to be set forth as an example to all succeeding times; to the glory of the most high God, and for a just memorial to that worthy and excellent man, his faithful servant and apostle to this generation of the world.

I am now come to the third head or branch of my preface, viz. the instrumental author. For it is natural for some to say, Well, here is the people and work, but where and who was the man, the instrument; he that in this age was sent to begin this work and people. I shall, as God shall enable me, declare who and what he was, not only by report of others, but from my own long and most inward converse and intimate knowledge of him; for which my soul blesseth God, as it hath often done; and I doubt not, but by that time I have discharged myself of this part of my preface, my serious readers will believe I had good cause so to do.

The blessed instrument of and in this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was GEORGE FOX, distinguished from another of that name, by that other's addition of Younger to his name in all his writings; not that he was so in years, but that he was so in the Truth, but he was also a worthy man, witness, and servant of God in his time.

But this George Fox was born in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. He descended of honest and sufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the way and worship of the nation; especially his mother, who was a woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived. But from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing, beyond his years, as the answers he would give, and the questions he would put

upon occasion, manifested to the astonishment of those that heard him, especially in divine things.

His mother taking notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom, and piety that very early shined through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company, when very young, she was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment he was brought up in country business, and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them, an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both from its innocency and solitude; and was a just figure of his after ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the best that can be given, and therefore desire, what I can, to avoid saying any thing of what is said already, as to the particular passages of his coming forth; but, in general, when he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people in those parts; and some there were short of few, if any, in this nation, who waited for the consolation of Israel night and day; as Zacherias, Anna and good old Simeon did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighbouring countries, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances, testifying and turning to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man. For in the word was life, and that life is the light of men. Life in the word, light in men, and life in men as the light is obeyed; the children of the light living by the life of the word, by which the word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming unto the kingdom of God; and which, whoever comes to, is greater than John, that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and forerunning of the Gospel times. Accordingly, several meetings were gathered in those parts, and thus his time was employed for some years.

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement to the Lord upon a very high mountain, in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it, his mind exercised towards the Lord, he had a vision of the great work of God in the

earth, and of the way that he was to go forth to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord; that there might be but one shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth; there his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence went north, as the Lord had shown him; and in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shown to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed; for it was not in vain that he travailed, God in most places sealing his commission with the convincement of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of them, which are at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsberry, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, John Aldam, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simpson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Widders, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named, together with divers yet living of the first and great convincement, who after the knowledge of God's purging judgments in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in his name, (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words.) They felt the divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, inform and exhort them, sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway-side, calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see and examine and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil and do the good and acceptable will of God; and they suffered great hardships for this their love and good-will, being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipped and imprisoned, though honest men and of good report where they lived, that had left wives and children, and houses and lands to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them, stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts; yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such

an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty convincement over those parts.

And through the tender and singular indulgence of judge Bradshaw and judge Fell, who were wont to go that circuit, in the infancy of things, the priests were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood, and if possible, Herod like, by a cruel exercise of the civil power, to have cut them off and rooted them out of the country. Especially judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the course of legal proceedings, but otherwise upon occasion, and finally countenanced this people; for his wife receiving the truth with the first, it had that influence upon his spirit, being a just and wise man, and seeing in his own wife and family, a full confutation to all the popular clamours against the way of truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his house to his wife and her friends, not valuing the reproach of ignorant or evil-minded people, which I here mention to his and her honour, and which will be I believe, an honour and a blessing to such of their name and family, as shall be found in that tenderness, humility, love and zeal for the truth and people of the Lord.

That house was for some years at first, till the truth had opened its way in the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others of good note and substance in those northern countries, had also opened their houses with their hearts, to the many publishers, that in a short time the Lord had raised to declare his Salvation to the people, and where meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But least this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man: and for his personal qualities, both natural, moral and divine as they appeared in his converse with brethren and in the church of God, take as follows:

I. He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth, a discerner of others spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though the side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes

his sentences would fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations; and indeed it showed beyond all contradiction that God sent him, that no arts or parts had any share in his matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them; so that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up the kingdom of God in the hearts of men, and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master upon the like occasion; I thank thee O Father Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes. For many times hath my soul bowed in an humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age, of his blessed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that his message and work he sent him to do, might come with less suspicion or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it. I say, beholding with the eye of my mind which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly in this testimony, from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity and circumspect care in the government of church affairs, which shined in his and their life and testimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence and thankfulness for his love and mercy therein to mankind; in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, to the end of my days.

II. In his testimony or ministry, he much laboured to open truth, to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the principle, and principal, Christ Jesus, the light of the world, that by bringing them to something that was of God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

He had an extraordinary gift in opening the scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony and fulfilling of them with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant and Son's state, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in Christ, and by Christ the true light, in all that are his through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God, being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own experience, in that which never errs nor fails.

But above all, he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fullness of his words, have often struck, even strangers, with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him most will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear.

He was of an innocent life, no busy body, nor self-seeker, neither touchy, nor critical: what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that every where and in all; but with love, compassion and long suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say, he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them, and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

He was an incessant labourer; for in his younger time, before his many great and deep sufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he laboured much in the word, and doctrine and discipline in England, Scotland and Ireland, turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the truth, and settling good order as to church affairs among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years seventy-one and seventy-seven, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces and Germany, as his following Journal relates, to the conviction and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London,

and besides the services of his ministry which were frequent and serviceable, he writ much both to them that are within, and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

He was often where the records of the affairs of the church are kept, and the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world where settled, come upon occasions, which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting that is weekly held there for such services, he would be sure to stir them up to discharge them, especially in suffering cases. Showing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions, carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavouring speedy relief according to the nature of them. So that the churches and any of the suffering members thereof, were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their desires if he were there.

As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people; he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester and Westminster Hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as in the primitive times, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, and who became their greatest trouble, so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who through prejudice or mistake ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience; because he pressed by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things, as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work, was in some a begrudging of this meek man, the love and esteem he had and deserved in the hearts of the people, and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the principle in himself, he should only stand and fall to that and nobody else; not considering that the principle is one in all; and though the measure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the same, and being so, they struck at the spiritual unity, which a

people guided by the same principle, are naturally led into; so that what is an evil to one, is so to all, and what is virtuous, honest and of good report to one, is so to all, from the sense and savour of the one universal principle which is common to all, (and which the disaffected profess to be) the root of all true Christian fellowship, and that spirit into which the people of God drink and come to be spiritually minded and of one heart and one soul.

Some weakly mistook good order in the government of church affairs, for discipline in worship, and that it was so preest or recommended by him and other brethren; and they were ready to reflect the same things that Dissenters had very reasonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively pressed conformity to their respective creeds and worships: whereas these things related wholly to conversation, and the outward (and as I may say) civil part of the church, that men should walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though some have stumbled and fallen through mistakes, and an unreasonable obstinancy, even to a prejudice, yet blessed be God, the generality have returned to their first love, and seen the work of the enemy, that looses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and disquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth and one to another; and there is hope of divers that are yet at a distance.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at, as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love, that thought no ill.

And truly, I must say, that though God had visibly cloathed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence exprest a religious majesty, yet he never abused it, but held his place in the church of God with great meekness and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all; holding and exercising his eldership, in the invisible power that had gathered them with reverence to the head and care over the body; and was received only in that spirit and power of Christ as the first and chief elder in this age; who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so for the same reason it was

given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God and power of an endless life. I write my knowledge and not report, and my witness is true, having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature, and that by night and by day, by sea and by land; in this and in foreign countries: and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea a strong man, a new and heavenly minded man; a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things; that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where. Civil beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us, and as he lived, so he died; feeling the same eternal power that had raised and preserved him in his last moments. So full of assurance was he, that he triumphed over death; and so even to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice or a mention; recommending to some with him, the dispatch and dispersion of an epistle, just before written to the churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books; but above all, friends, and of all friends, those in Ireland and America, twice over. Saying, mind poor friends in Ireland and America.

And to some that came in and inquired how he found himself, he answered, 'Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death, the seed reigns, blessed be the Lord:' which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meeting near Lombard-street on the first day of the week, and it was the third following about ten at night when he left us; being at the house of H. Goldney in the same court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his children's children to many generations in the truth. He had the comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last; and we may truly say, with a man of God of old, that being dead, he yet speaketh; and though absent in body, he is present in spirit; neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowships of the spirits of the just.

His works praise him, because they are to the praise of him that worked by him; for which his memorial is, and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my preface, when I have left this short epitaph to his name; 'Many sons have done virtuously in this day, but dear George thou excellest them all.'

And now, friends, you that profess to walk in the way this blessed man was sent of God to turn us into, suffer, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men. The glory of this day and foundation of the hope that has not made us ashamed since we were a people, you know is that blessed principle of light and life of Christ which we profess, and direct all people to, as the great instrument and agent of man's conversion to God: it was by this we were first touched, and effectually enlightened as to our inward state, which put us upon the consideration of our latter end, causing us to set the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wisdom. In that day we judged not after the sight of the eye, or after the hearing of the ear, but according to the light and sense this blessed principle gave us; we judged and acted in reference to things and persons, ourselves and others, yea, towards God our maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could easily discern the difference of things, and feel what was right and what was wrong, and what was fit and what not, both in reference to religion and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowship of all saints, it was in that our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense one of another, acted towards one another, and all men, in love, faithfulness, and fear.

In the feeling of the motions of this principle we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel those drawings and movings, before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with this, stood our comfort, service, and edification. And as we ran faster, or fell short, we made burthens for ourselves to bear; our services finding in ourselves a rebuke instead of an acceptance, and in lieu of Well done, who has required this at your hands? In that day we were an exercised people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves, especially the young convinced. Often had we the burthen of the word of the Lord to our neighbours,

relations, and acquaintance; and sometimes strangers also. We were in travail for one anothers preservation: not seeking, but shunning occasions of any coldness or misunderstanding, treating one another as those that believed and felt God present. Which kept our conversation innocent, serious, and weighty, guarding ourselves against the cares and friendships of the world. We held the truth in the spirit of it, and not in our own spirits, or after our own wills and affections.

They were bowed and brought into subjection, in so much that it was visible to them that knew us, we did not think ourselves at our own dispose, to go where we list, or say or do what we list, or when we list. Our liberty stood in the liberty of the Spirit of Truth, and no pleasure, no profit, no fear, no favour, could draw us from this retired, strict, and watchful frame. We were so far from seeking occasions of company, that we avoided them what we could; persuing our own business with moderation, instead of meddling with other peoples unnecessarily.

Our words were few and savoury, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many, as humourists, conceited and self-righteous persons, &c. But it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed by the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converse of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaste zeal of that day. Oh! how constant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to Truth's life, as well as Truth's principles; and how entire and united in our communion, as indeed became those that profess One Head, even Christ Jesus the Lord.

This being the testimony and example the man of God, before mentioned, was sent to declare and leave amongst us, and we having embraced the same as the merciful visitation of God to us, the word of exhortation at this time is, that we continue to be found in the way of this testimony with all zeal and integrity, and so much the more, by how much the day draweth near.

And first, as to you, my beloved and much honoured brethren in Christ, that are in the exercise of the ministry: Oh, feel life in the ministry! Let life be your commission, your well-spring and treasury in all such occasions, else you well know, there can be no begetting to God,

since nothing can quicken or make people alive to God, but the life of God: and it must be a ministry in and from life, that enlivens any people to God. We have seen the fruit of all other ministries by the few that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our parts, or memory, the repetition of former openings in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal ministry, however sound in words, can reach but the ear, and is but a dream at the best. There is another soundness, that is soundest of all, viz. Christ the power of God. This is the key of David, that opens and none shuts, and shuts, and none can open; as the oil to the lamp, and the soul to the body, so is that to the best of words. Which made Christ to say, My words they are spirit, and they are life; that is, they are from life, and therefore they make you alive, that receive them. If the disciples that had lived with Jesus, were to stay at Jerusalem till they received it; so must we wait to receive, before we minister, if we will turn people from darkness to light, and from Satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like minded, that you may ever wait reverently for the coming and opening of the word of life, and tend upon it in your ministry and service, that you may serve God in his Spirit. And be it little, or be it much, it is well; for much is not too much, and the least is enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never so little is too much, because to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the ministry of his servants, that teacheth his people to profit; and to be sure, so far as we take him along with us in our services, so far we are profitable and no farther. For if it be the Lord that must work all things in us and for ourselves, much more is it the Lord, that must work in us for the conversion of others. If therefore it was once a cross to us to speak, though the Lord required it at our hands, let it never be so to be silent, when he does not.

It is one of the most dreadful sayings in the book of God, that he that adds to the words of the prophecy of this book, God will add the plagues written in this book. To keep back the counsel of God, is as terrible; for he that takes away from the words of the prophecy of this book, God shall take away his part out of the book of life. And truly, it has great caution in it to those, that use the name of the Lord, to be well assured, the Lord speaks, that they may not be found of the number of those, that add to the

words of the testimony of prophecy, which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminish the same, both being so very offensive to God.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to out-go our Guide, nor yet loiter behind him; since he that makes haste, may miss his way, and he that stays behind, loose his Guide: for even those, that have received the word of the Lord, had need wait for wisdom, that they may see how to divide the word aright; which plainly implieth that it is possible for one, that hath received the word of the Lord, to miss in the division and application of it, which must come from an impatency of spirit, and a self-working, which makes an unsound and dangerous mixture; and will hardly beget a right minded living people to God.

I am earnest in this, above all other considerations, as to public brethren, well knowing how much it concerns the present and future state, and preservation of the church of Christ Jesus, that has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful ministry, that the ministry be held, preserved, and continued in the manifestations, motions, and supplies, of the same life and power from time to time.

And wherever it is observed, that any one does minister more from gifts and parts, than life and power, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admonished for their preservation, because insensibly such will come to depend upon a self-sufficiency; to forsake Christ the living fountain, and to hew out unto themselves cisterns that will hold no living waters; and by degrees draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others, in order to their strength and refreshment to wait upon them, and to turn from God to man again, and so to make shipwreck of the faith once delivered to the saints, and of a good conscience towards God; which are only kept by that Divine gift of life, that begat the one and awakened and sanctified the other in the beginning.

Nor is it enough that we have known the Divine gift, and in it have reached to the spirits in prison, and been the instruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourselves, and as depending upon the Lord as ever; since no memory, no repetitions of former openings, revelations, or enjoyments, will bring a soul to God, or afford bread to the hungry, or water to the thirsty, unless life go with what we say, and that must be waited for.

O that we may have no other fountain, treasury, or de-

pendence! that none may presume at any rate to act of themselves for God! Because they have long acted from God, that we may not supply want of waiting with our own wisdom, or think that we may take less care, and more liberty in speaking, than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord by his power to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people, or has been our customary supply and character, we may not exceed or fill up the time with our own.

I hope we shall ever remember who it was that said, Of yourselves you can do nothing, our sufficiency is in Him. And if we are not to speak our own words, or take thought what we should say to men in our defence, when exposed for our testimony, surely we ought to speak none of our own words, or take thought what we shall say in our testimony and ministry in the name of the Lord to the souls of the people; for then of all times, and of all other occasions should it be fulfilled in us; for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you.

And indeed, the ministry of the Spirit must and does keep its analogy and agreement with the birth of the Spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God, unless he be born of the Spirit, so no ministry can beget a soul to God, but that which is from the Spirit. For this, as I said before, the disciples waited before they went forth; and in this our elder brethren, and messengers of God in our day, waited, visited, and reached to us. And having begun in the Spirit, let none ever hope or seek to be made perfect in the flesh. For what is the flesh to the spirit, or the chaff to the wheat? And if we keep in the spirit, we shall keep in the unity of it, which is the ground of true fellowship. For by drinking into that one spirit, we are made one people to God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith, and the bond of peace. No envying, no bitterness, no strife, can have place with us. We shall watch always for good, and not for evil, over one another, and rejoice exceedingly, and not begrudge at one another's increase in the riches of the grace, with which God replenisheth his faithful servants.

And, brethren, as to you is committed the dispensation of the oracles of God, which give you frequent opportunities, and great place with the people among whom you travail, I beseech you that you would not think it sufficient to declare the word of life in their assemblies, however edifying and comfortable such opportunities may be to you and them. But as was the practice of the man of God before mentioned, in great measure, when among us, inquire

the state of the several churches you visit; who among them are afflicted or sick, who are tempted; if any are unfaithful or obstinate, and endeavour to issue those things in the wisdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your ministry. As that prepares your way in the hearts of the people to receive you as men of God, so it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other respects. The afflicted will be comforted by you, the tempted strengthened, the sick refreshed, the unfaithful convicted and restored, and such as are obstinate softened and fitted for reconciliation, which is clenching the nail, and applying and fastening the general testimony by that particular care of the several branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though good and wise men, and elders too, may reside in such places, who are of worth and importance in the general, and in other places, yet it does not always follow, that they may have the room they deserve in the hearts of the people they live among; or some particular occasion may make it unfit for him or them to use that authority. But you that travail as God's messengers, if they receive you in the greater, shall they refuse you in the less? And if they own the general testimony, can they withstand the particular application of it in their own cases? Thus, ye will show yourselves workmen indeed, and carry your business before you, to the praise of his name that hath called you from darkness to light, that you might turn others from Satan's power unto God and his kingdom, which is within. And Oh that there were more of such faithful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord! Never more need since the day of God!

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long professors of the truth, and know the truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a sober conversation among men, yet content yourselves only to know truth for yourselves; to go to meetings, and exercise an ordinary charity in the church, and an honest behaviour in the world, and limit yourselves within those bounds, feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such service. Arise ye in the name and power of the Lord Jesus! Behold how white the fields are unto harvest in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! Your country folks, neighbours, and kindred, want to know the Lord and his truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account?

Search and see, and loose no time, I beseech you, for the Lord is at hand. I do not judge you, there is one that judgeth all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily increased in your outward substance; may you equally increase in your inward riches, and do good with both, while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you, for his names sake, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the world in the face of your enemies. But, Oh! let it be your servant and not your master, your diversion rather than your business! Let the Lord be chiefly in your eye, and ponder your ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do; and if you find yourselves short in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well doing, when you have put your hand to the plough; and assuredly you shall reap (if you faint not) the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlasting kingdom.

And you, young convinced ones, be you entreated and exhorted to a diligent and chaste waiting upon God, in the way of his blessed manifestation and appearance of himself to you. Look not out, but within. Let not anothers liberty be your snare. Neither act by imitation, but sense and feeling of God's power in yourselves. Crush not the tender buddings of it in your souls, nor overrun in your desires, and your warmth of affections the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a still voice that speaks to us in this day, and that it is not to be heard in the noises and hurries of the mind; but is distinctly understood in a retired frame. Jesus loved and chose out solitudes; often going to mountains, to gardens, and sea-sides, to avoid crowds and hurries, to shew his disciples it was good to be solitary, and sit loose to the world. Two enemies lie near your states, imagination and liberty, but the plain, practical, living, holy truth, that has convinced you will preserve you, if you mind it in yourselves, and bring all thoughts, imaginations, and affections, to the test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your own selves. So will a true taste, discerning, and judgment, be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone. And in your diligence and faithfulness in this way you will come to inherit substance; and Christ, the eternal wisdom, will fill your treasury. And when you are converted, as well as convinced, then confirm your brethren, and be ready to every good word and work, that the Lord shall call you to; that you may be to his praise,

who has chosen you to be partakers with the saints in light of a kingdom that cannot be shaken, an inheritance incorruptible, in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my spirit for your good; and often are my knees bowed to the God of your fathers for you, that you may come to be partakers of the same divine life and power, that has been the glory of this day; that a generation you may be to God, an holy nation and a peculiar people, zealous of good works, when all our heads are laid in the dust. Oh you young men and women, let it not suffice you, that you are the children of the people of the Lord! you must also be born again, if you will inherit the kingdom of God. Your fathers are but such after the flesh, and could but beget you into the likeness of the first Adam; but you must be begotten into the likeness of the second Adam by a spiritual generation. And therefore look carefully about you, Oh ye children of the children of God, consider your standing, and see what you are in relation to this divine kindred, family, and birth! Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, that is the incorruptible seed of the word and kingdom of God, of which you must be born again. God is no respecter of persons. The father cannot save or answer for the child, the child for the father, but in the sin thou sinnest, thou shalt die; and in the righteousness thou doest, through Christ Jesus, thou shalt live; for it is the willing and obedient that shall eat the good of the land. Be not deceived, God is not mocked; such as all nations and people sow, such they shall reap at the hand of the just God. And then your many and great privileges, above the children of other people, will add weight in the scale against you, if you choose not the way of the Lord. For you have had line upon line, and precept upon precept, and not only good doctrine, but good example; and which is more, you have been turned to and acquainted with a principle in yourselves, which others have been ignorant of; and you know, you may be as good as you please, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors and forsaken of father and mother for God's sake, and his holy religion, as has been the case of some of your fathers in the day they first entered into this holy path. And if you, after hearing and seeing the wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preservation of them, through a sea of troubles, and the manifold temporal, as well as spiritual blessings, that he has filled them with in the sight of their enemies, you should

neglect and turn your backs upon so great and so near a salvation, you would not only be most ungrateful children to God and them, but must expect that God will call the children of those that knew him not, to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord. But oh, that it may never be so with any of you! The Lord forbid, saith my soul.

Wherefore, oh ye young men and women, look to the rock of your fathers! chuse the God of your fathers. There is no other God but him; no other light but his; no other grace but his, nor spirit but his, to convince you, quicken, and comfort you; to lead, guide, and preserve you to God's everlasting kingdom. So will you be possessors, as well as professors, of the truth; embracing it not only by education, but judgment and conviction, from a sense begotten in your souls, through the operation of the eternal spirit and power of God in your hearts, by which you may come to be the seed of Abraham through faith, and the circumcision not made with hands, and so heirs of the promise made to the fathers of an incorruptible crown. That (as I said before) a generation you may be to God, holding up the profession of the blessed truth in the life and power of it. For formality in religion is nauseous to God and good men; and the more so, where any form or appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practised upon a principle, with an uncommon zeal and strictness. Therefore I say, for you to fall flat and formal, and continue the profession without that salt and savour, by which it is come to obtain a good report among men, is not to answer God's love, nor your parents' care, nor the mind of truth in yourselves, nor in those that are without; who, though they will not obey the truth, have sight and sense enough to see if they do that make a profession of it. For where the divine virtue of it is not felt in the soul, and waited for, and lived in, imperfections will quickly break out, and show themselves, and detect the unfaithfulness of such persons, and that their insides are not seasoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profess.

Wherefore, dear children, let me intreat you to shut your eyes at the temptations and allurements of this low and perishing world, and not suffer your affections to be captivated by those lusts and vanities that your fathers, for truth's sake, long since turned their backs upon. But as you believe it to be the truth, receive it into your hearts, that you may become the children of God: so that it may

never be said of you, as the Evangelist writes of the Jews of his time, that Christ, the true light, came to his own, but his own received him not; but to as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the children of God; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. A most close and comprehensive passage to this occasion: you exactly and peculiarly answer to those professing Jews, in that you bear the name of God's people, by being the children and wearing of the form of God's people. So that he, by his light in you, may be said to come to his own, and if you obey it not, but turn your back upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of those that receive him not, which, I pray God, may never be your case and judgment; but that you may be thoroughly sensible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and your parents for their care. And with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your strength, turn to the Lord, to his gift and spirit in you, and hear his voice, and obey it, that you may seal to the testimony of your fathers, by the truth and evidence of your own experience; that your childrens children may bless you, and the Lord for you, as those that delivered a faithful example, as well as record of the truth of God unto them. So will the gray hairs of your dear parents yet alive, go down to the grave with joy, to see you the posterity of truth, as well as theirs, and that not only their natures but spirit shall live in you when they are gone.

I shall conclude this preface with a few words to those that are not of our communion, into whose hands this may come, especially those of our own nation.

Friends, as you are the sons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the flesh, often and earnest have been my desires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know him that has made you, to be your redeemer and restorer to the image that, through sin, you have lost, by the power and spirit of his son Jesus Christ, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And oh that you, who are called Christians, would receive him into your heart! for there it is you want him, and at that door he stands knocking, that you should let him in, but you do not open to him; you are full of other guests, so that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old. Yet you are full of profession, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly intreated him. So that if you come not to the possession and experience of what you profess, all

your formality in religion will stand you in no stead in the day of God's judgment.

I beseech you ponder with yourselves your eternal condition, and see what title, what ground and foundation you have for your Christianity ; if more than a profession, and an historical belief of the gospel. Have you known the baptism of fire, and the Holy Ghost, and the fan of Christ that winnows away the chaff ; the carnal lusts and affections ? That divine leaven of the kingdom, that being received, leavens the whole lump of man, sanctifying him throughout, in body, soul, and spirit ? If this be not the ground of your confidence, you are in a miserable estate.

You will say perhaps, that though you are sinners, and live in the daily commission of sin, and are not sanctified, as I have been speaking, yet you have faith in Christ, who has borne the curse for you, and in him you are compleat by faith ; his righteousness being imputed to you.

But, my friends, let me intreat you not to deceive yourselves in so important a point as is that of your immortal souls. If you have true faith in Christ, your faith will make you clean, it will sanctify you ; for the saints' faith was their victory. By this they overcame sin within, and sinful men without. And if thou art in Christ thou walkest not after the flesh, but after the spirit, whose fruits are manifest. Yea, thou art a new creature, new made, new fashioned after God's will and mold : old things are done away, and behold, all things are become new. New love, desires, will, affections, and practices. It is not any longer thou that livest, thou disobedient, carnal, worldly one ; but it is Christ that liveth in thee, and to live is Christ, and to die is thy eternal gain ; because thou art assured, that thy corruptible shall put on incorruption, and thy mortal, immortality ; and that thou hast a glorious house, eternal in the heavens, that will never wax old or pass away. All this follows being in Christ, as heat follows fire, and light the sun.

Therefore have a care how you presume to rely upon such a notion, as that you are in Christ, whilst in your old fallen nature. For what communion hath light with darkness, or Christ with Belial ? Hear what the beloved disciple tells you. If we say we have fellowship with God, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth. That is, if we go on in a sinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkness, and cannot possibly have any fellowship with God. Christ clothes them with his righteousness that receive his grace in their hearts, and deny themselves, and take up his

cross daily, and follow him. Christ's righteousness makes men inwardly holy, of holy minds, wills, and practices. It is nevertheless Christ's because we have it; for it is ours, not by nature, but by faith and adoption. It is the gift of God. But still, though not ours, as of or from ourselves, for in that sense it is Christ's, for it is of and from him, yet it is ours; and must be ours in possession, efficacy, and enjoyment, to do us any good, or Christ's righteousness will profit us nothing. It was after this manner that he was made to the primitive Christians, righteousness, sanctification, justification, and redemption; and if ever you will have the comfort, kernal, and marrow of the Christian religion, thus you must come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my friends, by what you have read, and will read in what follows, you may perceive that God has visited a poor people among you with this saving knowledge and testimony; whom he has upheld and encreased to this day, notwithstanding the fierce opposition they have met withal. Despise not the meanness of this appearance: it was, and yet is (we know) a day of small things, and of small account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it; but it is of God, it came from him because it leads to him. This we know, but we cannot make another know it, as we know it, unless he will take the same way to know it that we took. The world talks of God; but what do they do? They pray for power, but reject the principle in which it is. If you would know God and worship and serve God, as you should do, you must come to the means he has ordained and given for that purpose. Some seek it in books, some in learned men, but what they look for, is in themselves, but they overlook it. The voice is too still, the seed too small, and the light shineth in darkness. They are abroad, and so cannot divide the spoil; but the woman that lost her silver found it at home, after she had lighted her candle and swept her house. Do you so too, and you shall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz. Truth.

The Light of Christ within, who is the light of the world, (and so a light to you, that tells you the truth of your condition) leads all that take heed unto it out of darkness into God's marvellous light; for light grows upon the obedient. It is sown for the righteous, and their way is a shining light, that shines forth more and more to the perfect day.

Wherefore, O friends, turn in, turn in, I beseech you! Where is the poison, there is the antidote: there you want

Christ, and there you must find him; and blessed be God, there you may find him. "Seek and you shall find," I testify for God: but then you must seek aright, with your whole heart, as men that seek for their lives, yea, for their eternal lives: diligently, humbly, patiently, as those that can taste no pleasure, comfort or satisfaction in any thing else, unless you find him whom your souls want, and desire to know and love above all. O, it is a travail, a spiritual travail! let the carnal, profane world think and say as it will. And through this path you must walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! and what does this blessed light do for you? Why, 1. It sets all your sins in order before you: it detects the spirit of this world in all its baits and allurements, and shews how man came to fall from God, and the fallen estate he is in. 2. It begets a sense and sorrow, in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. You will then see him distinctly whom you have pierced, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your disobedience; and how you have made him to serve with your sins, and you will weep and mourn for it, and your sorrow will be a godly sorrow. 3. After this it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do so no more, that the enemy surprise you not again: then thoughts, as well as words and works, will come to judgment, which is the way of holiness, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to love God above all, and your neighbours as yourselves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this holy mountain: now you come to be Christ's indeed, for you are his in nature and spirit, and not your own. And when you are thus Christ's, then Christ is yours, and not before: and here communion with the Father and with the Son you will know, and the efficacy of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb, which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel, and which cleanseth from all sin the consciences of those that, through the living faith, come to be sprinkled with it from dead works to serve the living God.

To conclude: behold the testimony and doctrine of the people called Quakers! Behold their practice and discipline! and behold the blessed man and men that were sent of God in this excellent work and service! all which will be more particularly expressed in the ensuing annals of the man of God; which I do heartily recommend to my reader's most serious perusal, and beseech Almighty

God, that his blessing may go along with it, to the convincing of many, as yet strangers to this holy dispensation, and also to the edification of the church of God in general: who, for his manifold and repeated mercies and blessings to his people in this day of his great love, is worthy ever to have the glory, honour, thanksgiving and renown; and be it rendered and ascribed, with fear and reverence, through Him in whom he is well pleased, his beloved Son and Lamb, our light and life, that sits with him upon the throne, world without end. Amen,

Says one that God has long since mercifully favoured with his fatherly visitation, and who was not disobedient to the heavenly vision and call, to whom the way of Truth is more lovely and precious than ever, and that knowing the beauty and benefit of it above all worldly treasure, has chosen it for his chiefest joy, and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, because he is with great sincerity and affection thy soul's friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

The TESTIMONY of MARGARET FOX concerning her late Husband GEORGE FOX; together with a brief Account of some of his Travels, Sufferings, and Hardships endured for the Truth's sake.

IT having pleased Almighty God to take away my dear husband out of this evil troublesome world, who was not a man thereof; being chosen out of it, and had his life and being in another region, and his testimony was against the world, that the deeds thereof were evil, and therefore the world hated him: so I am now to give in my account and testimony for my dear husband, whom the Lord hath taken unto his blessed kingdom and glory. And it is before me from the Lord, and in my view, to give a relation, and leave upon record the dealings of the Lord with us from the beginning.

He was the instrument in the hand of the Lord in this present age, which he made use of to send forth into the world, to preach the everlasting gospel, which had been hid from many ages and generations; the Lord revealed it unto him, and made him open that new and living way, that leads to life eternal, when he was but a youth, and a stripling. And when he declared it in his own country of Leicestershire, and in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Warwickshire, and his declaration being against the hireling priests and their practices, it raised a great fury and opposition amongst the priests and people against him; yet there was always some that owned him in several places; but very few that stood firm to him when persecution came on him. There was he and one other put in prison at Derby, but the other declined, and left him in prison there, where he continued almost a whole year, and then he was released out of prison, and went on with his testimony abroad, and was put in prison again at Nottingham; and there he continued a while, and after was released again.

And then he travelled on into Yorkshire, and passed up and down that great county, and several received him, as William Dewsbury, Richard Farnsworth, Thomas Aldam, and others, who all came to be faithful ministers of the Spirit for the Lord. And he continued in that country, and travelled through Holderness and the Wowlds, and

abundance were convinced; and several were brought to prison at York for their testimony to the truth, both men and women: so that we heard of such a people that were risen, and we did very much enquire after them. And after a while he travelled up farther towards the dales in Yorkshire, as Wensdale, and Sedbur; and amongst the hills, dales and mountains he came on, and convinced many of the eternal Truth.

And in the year 1652 it pleased the Lord to draw him towards us; so he came on from Sedbur, and so to Westmoreland, as Firbank Chappel, where John Blaykling came with him; and so on to Preston, and to Grarig, and Kendal, and Under-barrow, and Poobank, and Cartmel, and Staveley; and so on to Swarthmore, my dwelling house, whither he brought the blessed tidings of the everlasting Gospel, which I, and many hundreds in these parts, have cause to praise the Lord for. My then husband, Thomas Fell, was not at home at that time, but gone the Welch circuit, being one of the judges of assize: and our house being a place open to entertain ministers and religious people at, one of George Fox's friends brought him hither, where he stayed all night. And the next day, being a lecture, or a fast-day, he went to Ulverston steeple-house, but came not in till people were gathered; I and my children had been a long time there before. And when they were singing before the sermon, he came in; and when they had done singing, he stood up upon a seat or form, and desired that he might have liberty to speak; and he that was in the pulpit said he might. And the first words that he spoke were as followeth. 'He is not a Jew that is one outward; neither is that circumcision which is outward: but he is a Jew that is one inward; and that is circumcision which is of the heart.' And so he went on, and said, how that Christ was the Light of the world, and lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and that by this light they might be gathered to God, &c. And I stood up in my pew, and I wondered at his doctrine, for I had never heard such before. And then he went on, and opened the Scriptures, and said the Scriptures were the prophets' words, and Christ's and the apostle's words, and what, as they spoke, they enjoyed and possessed, and had it from the Lord: and said, then what had any to do with the Scriptures, but as they came to the Spirit that gave them forth. 'You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this; but what canst thou say? Art thou a child of light, and hast walked in the light, and what thou speakest, is it inwardly

from God?' &c. This opened me so, that it cut me to the heart; and then I saw clearly we were all wrong. So I sat me down in my pew again, and cried bitterly: and I cried in my spirit to the Lord, 'We are all thieves; we are all thieves; we have taken the Scriptures in words, and know nothing of them in ourselves.' So that served me, that I cannot well tell what he spake afterwards; but he went on in declaring against the false prophets, and priests, and deceivers of the people. And there was one John Sawrey, a justice of peace, and a professor, that bid the churchwarden take him away; and he laid his hands on him several times, and took them off again, and let him alone; and then after a while he gave over, and came to our house again that night. And he spoke in the family amongst the servants, and they were all generally convinced; as William Caton, Thomas Salthouse, Mary Askew, Anne Clayton, and several other servants. And I was stricken into such a sadness, I knew not what to do, my husband being from home. I saw it was the truth, and I could not deny it; and I did as the apostle saith, "I received the truth in the love of it:" and it was opened to me so clear, that I had never a tittle in my heart against it; but I desired the Lord that I might be kept in it; and then I desired no greater portion.

And then he went on to Dalton, Aldingham, Dendrum, and Ramside chappels and steeple-houses, and several places up and down, and the people followed him mightily; and abundance were convinced, and saw that which he spoke was truth; but the priests were all in a rage. And about two weeks after James Naylor and Richard Farnsworth followed him, and enquired him out, till they came to Swarthmore, and there stayed a while with me at our house, and did me much good, for I was under great heaviness and judgment. But the power of the Lord entered upon me within about two weeks that he came; and about three weeks end my husband came home; and many were in a mighty rage. And a deal of the captains and great ones of the country went to meet my then husband, as he was coming home, and informed him that a great disaster was befallen amongst his family, and that they were witches; and that they had taken us out of our religion; and that he might either set them away, or all the country would be undone. But no weapon formed against the Lord shall prosper, as you may see hereafter.

So my husband came home greatly offended: and any may think what a condition I was like to be in, that either I might displease my husband, or offend God; for he was

very much troubled with us all in the house and family, they had so prepossessed him against us. But James Naylor and Richard Farnsworth were both then at our house, and I desired them to come and speak to him, and so they did, very moderately and wisely; but he was at first displeased with them; but they told him they came in love and good will to his house. And after that he had heard them speak a while, he was better satisfied; and they offered as if they would go away; but I desired them to stay, and not to go away yet, for George Fox will come this evening. And I would have had my husband to have heard them all, and satisfied himself farther about them; because they had so prepossessed him against them of such dangerous fearful things in his coming first home. And then was he pretty moderate and quiet; and his dinner being ready, he went to it; and I went in, and sat me down by him. And whilst I was sitting, the power of the Lord seized upon me; and he was stricken with amazement, and knew not what to think; but was quiet and still. And the children were all quiet and still, and grown sober, and could not play on their music that they were learning: and all these things made him quiet and still.

And then at night George Fox came: and after supper my husband was sitting in the parlour, and I asked him if George Fox might come in; and he said, Yes. So George came in without any compliment, and walked into the room, and began to speak presently; and the family, and James Naylor, and Richard Farnsworth came all in: and he spoke very excellently as ever I heard him; and opened Christ and the apostles practices, which they were in, in their day. And he opened the night of apostacy since the apostles days, and laid open the priests and their practices in the apostacy; that if all in England had been there, I thought they could not have denied the truth of those things. And so my husband came to see clearly the truth of what he spoke, and was very quiet that night, and said no more, and went to bed. And next morning came Lampit, priest of Ulverstone, and got my husband into the garden, and spake much to him there; but my husband had seen so much the night before, that the priest got little entrance upon him. And when the priest Lampit was come into the house, George spoke sharply to him, and asked him when God spake to him, and called him to go and preach to the people; but after a while the priest went away: this was on a sixth-day of the week, about the fifth month, 1652. And at our house divers Friends were speaking one to another, how there was several con-

vinced here aways; and we could not tell where to get a meeting: my husband also being present, he overheard, and said of his own accord, 'You may meet here, if you will:' and that was the first meeting we had that he offered of his own accord. And then notice was given that day and the next to Friends, and there was a good large meeting the first-day, which was the first meeting that was at Swarthmore; and so continued there a meeting from 1652 till 1690. And my husband went that day to the steeple-house, and none with him but his clerk and his groom that rid with him; and the priest and people were all fearfully troubled: but praised be the Lord, they never got their wills upon us to this day.

And then after a few weeks George went to Ulverstone steeple-house again, and the said justice Sawrey, with others, set the rude rabble upon him; and they beat him so that he fell down as in a swoon, and was sore bruised and blackened in his body, and on his head and arms. Then my husband was not at home; but when he came home he was displeased that they should do so; and spoke to justice Sawrey, and said it was against law to make riots. And after that he was sore beat and stoned at Walney, till he fell down: and also at Dalton was he sore beat and abused; so that he had very hard usage in divers places in these parts. And then when a meeting was settled there, he went again into Westmoreland, and settled meetings there; and there was a great convincement, and abundance of brave ministers came out thereaways, as John Camm, John Audland, Francis Howgil, Edward Burrough, Miles Halhead, and John Blaykling, with divers others. He also went over Sands to Lancaster, and Yelland, and Kellet, where Robert Widders, Richard Hubberthorn, and John Lawson, with many others, were convinced. And about that time he was in those parts, many priests and professors rose up, and falsely accused him for blasphemy, and did endeavour to take away his life; and got people to swear at a session at Lancaster that he had spoken blasphemy. But my then husband and colonel West, having had some sight and knowledge of the truth, withstood the two persecuting justices, John Sawrey and Thompson, and brought him off, and cleared him; for indeed he was innocent. And after the sessions there was a great meeting in the town of Lancaster; and many of the towns' people came in, and many were convinced. And thus he was up and down about Lancaster, Yelland, Westmoreland, and some parts of Yorkshire, and our parts above one year; in which time there was above twenty and four

ministers brought forth, that were ready to go with their testimony of the Eternal Truth unto the world : and soon after Francis Howgil and John Camm went to speak to Oliver Cromwell.

And in the year 1653 George's drawings was into Cumberland, by Milholm, Lampley, Embleton, and Brigham, Pardsey and Cockermouth, where at or near Embleton he had a dispute with some priests, as Larkham and Benson, but chiefly with John Wilkinson, a preacher at Embleton and Brigham, who after was convinced, and owned the Truth, and was a serviceable minister both in England, Ireland, and Scotland. And then he went to Coldbeck and several places, till he came to Carlisle, and went to their steeple-house : and they beat and abused him, and had him before the magistrates, who examined him, and put him in prison there in the common goal among the thieves. And at the assizes, one Anthony Pearson, who had been a justice of peace, and was convinced at Appleby (when he was upon the bench) by James Naylor and Francis Howgil, who were then prisoners there, and brought before him ; so Anthony Pearson spake to the justices at Carlisle, he being acquainted with them, having married his wife out of Cumberland ; and after a while they released him. And after he went into several parts in Cumberland, and many were convinced, and owned the Truth : and he gathered and settled meetings there amongst them, and up and down in several parts there in the North.

And in the year 1654 he went southward to his own country of Leicestershire, visiting friends. And then Colonel Hacker sent him to Oliver Cromwell : and after his being kept prisoner awhile, he was brought before Oliver and released. And then he staid a while, visiting friends in London, and the meetings therein, and so passed westward to Bristol, and visited friends there : and after went into Cornwall, where they put him in prison at Launceston, and one Edward Pyot with him, where he had a bad, long imprisonment. And when he was released, he passed into many parts in that county of Cornwall, and settled meetings there. And then he travelled through many counties, visiting friends and settling meetings all along ; and so came into the north, and to Swarthmore, and to Cumberland.

And so for Scotland he passed in the year 1657, and there went with him Robert Widders, James Lancaster, John Grave, and others. And he travelled through many places in that nation, as Douglas, Heads, Hambleton,

Glasgow, and to Edinburgh, where they took him, and carried him before General Monk, and the council, and examined him, and asked him his business into that nation; who answered, he came to visit the seed of God. And after they had threatened him, and charged him to depart their nation of Scotland, they let him go. And then he went to Linlithgow, and Sterling, and Johnstons, and many places, visiting the people; and several were convinced. And after he had staid a pretty while, and settled some meetings, he returned into Northumberland, and into the bishoprick of Durham, visiting friends and settling meetings as he went; and then returned back again to Swarthmore, and staid amongst friends awhile, and so returned south again. And in 1658, judge Fell died.

And in 1660 he came out of the south into the north, and had a great general meeting about Balby in Yorkshire; and so came on visiting friends in many places, till he came to Swarthmore again. And king Charles then being come in, the justices sent out warrants, and took him at Swarthmore, charging him in their warrants, that he drew away the king's liege people, to the endangering the embroiling the nation in blood; and sent him prisoner to Lancaster castle. And I having a great family, and he being taken in my house, I was moved of the Lord to go to the king at Whitehall; and took with me a declaration, and an information of our principles. And a long time, and much ado I had, to get to him. But at last, when I got to him, I told him if he was guilty of those things, I was guilty, for he was taken in my house. And I gave him the paper of our principles, and desired that he would set him at liberty, as he had promised that none should suffer for tender consciences; and we were of tender consciences, and desired nothing but the liberty of our consciences. And then with much ado, after he had been kept prisoner near half a year at Lancaster, we got a habeas corpus, and removed him to the king's bench, where he was released. And then would I gladly have come home to my great family, but was bound in my spirit, and could not have freedom to get away for a whole year. And the king had promised me several times that we should have our liberty. And then the monarchy men rose; and then came the great and general imprisonment of friends the nation through: and so could I not have freedom nor liberty to come home till we had got a general proclamation for all our friends' liberty; and then I had freedom and peace to come home.

And in 1663 he came north again, and to Swarthmore.

And then they sent out warrants, and took him again, and had him to Holcrof before the justices, and tendered him the oath of allegiance, and sent him prisoner to Lancaster castle. And about a month after, the justices sent for me also out of my house, and tendered me the oath, and sent me prisoner to Lancaster. And the next assizes they tendered the oath of allegiance and supremacy to us again both, and premunired me; but they had missed the date, and other things in the indictment, and so it was quashed; but they tendered him the oath again, and kept him prisoner a year and an half at Lancaster castle. And then they sent him to Scarborough castle in Yorkshire, where they kept him prisoner close under the soldiers much of a year and an half, so that a friend could scarcely have spoken to him; yet after that it pleased the Lord that he was released. But I continued in prison, and a prisoner four years at that time, and an order was procured from the council, whereby I was set at liberty. And in that time I went down into Cornwall with my son and daughter Lower, and came back by London to the yearly meeting, and there I met with him again; and then he told me the time was drawing on towards our marriage, but he might first go into Ireland. And a little before this time was he prisoner in his own country at Leicester for a while, and then released. And so into Ireland he went, and I went into Kent and Sussex, and came back to London again; and afterward I went to the west, towards Bristol, in 1669, and there I staid till he came over from Ireland. And then it was eleven years after my former husband's decease. And in Ireland he had had a great service for the Lord and his eternal truth, amongst friends and many people there, but escaped many dangers, and times of being taken prisoner, they having laid in wait aforehand for him in many places. And then he being returned at Bristol, he declared his intentions of marriage; and there also was our marriage solemnized. And then within ten days after I came homewards, and my husband staid up and down in the countries amongst friends visiting them.

And soon after I came home, there came another order from the council to cast me into prison again; and the sheriff of Lancashire sent his bailiff, and pulled me out of my own house, and had me prisoner to Lancaster castle (upon the old premunire), where I continued a whole year, and most part of that time was I sick and weakly, and also my husband was weak and sickly at that time. And then after awhile he recovered, and went about to get me

out of prison, and a discharge at last was got under the great seal; and so I was set at liberty. And then I was to go up to London again, for my husband was intending for America. And he was full two years away before he came back again into England, and then he arrived at Bristol, and then came to London; and he intended to have come to the middle of the nation with me; but when he came into some parts of Worcestershire, they got there information of him; and one justice Parker, by his warrant, sent him and my son Lower to Worcester goal; and the justices there tendered him the oath, and premunired him, but released my son Lower, who staid with him most of the time he was prisoner there.

And after some time he fell sick, in a long, lingering sickness, and many times was very ill: so they writ to me from London, that if I would see him alive I might go to him; which accordingly I did. And after I had tarried seventeen weeks with him at Worcester, and no discharge like to be obtained for him, I went up to London, and writ to the king an account of his long imprisonment, and how he was taken in his travel homewards, and how he was weak and sick, and not like to live if they kept him long there. And I went with it to Whitehall myself; and I met with the king and gave him the paper; and he said I must go to the chancellor, he could do nothing in it. Then I writ also to the lord chancellor, and went to his house, and gave him my paper, and spoke to him, that the king had left it wholly to him; and if he did not take pity and release him out of that prison, I feared he would end his days there. And the lord chancellor Finch was a very tender man, and spoke to the judge, who gave out an habeas corpus presently. And when we got it we sent it down to Worcester, and they would not part with him at first, but said he was premunired, and was not to go out on that manner. And then we were forced to go to judge North, and to the attorney general, and we got another order, and sent down from them; and with much ado, and great labour and industry of William Mead and other friends, we got him up to London, where he appeared in Westminster hall at the king's bench, before judge Hales, who was a very honest, tender man; and he knew they had imprisoned him but in envy. So that which they had against him was read, and our counsel pleaded that he was taken up in his travel and journey. And there was but a little said till he was acquitted. And this was the last prison that he was in, being freed by the court of king's bench.

And when he was at liberty he recovered again : and then I was very desirous to go home with him, which we did. And this was the first time that he came to Swarthmore after we were married ; and so he staid here much of two years, and then went to London again to the yearly meeting ; and after a while went into Holland, and some parts of Germany, where he staid a pretty while, and then returned to London again at the next yearly meeting. And after he had staid awhile in and about London, he came into the north to Swarthmore again, and staid that time nigh two years, and then he grew weakly, being troubled with pains and aches, having had many sore and long travels, beatings, and hard imprisonments. But after some time he rode to York, and so passed on through Nottinghamshire and several counties, visiting friends, till he came to London to the yearly meeting, and staid there, and thereaways, till he finished his course, and laid down his head in peace.

And though the Lord had provided an outward habitation for him, yet he was not willing to stay at it, because it was so remote and far from London, where his service most lay. And my concern for God, and his holy eternal truth, was then in the north, where God had placed and set me, and likewise for the ordering and governing of my children and family : so that we were very willing both of us, to live apart for some years upon God's account, and his truth's service, and to deny ourselves of that comfort which we might have had in being together, for the sake and service of the Lord and his truth. And if any took occasion, or judged hard of us because of that, the Lord will judge them, for we were innocent. And for my own part, I was willing to take many long journies, for taking away all occasion of evil thoughts : and though I lived two hundred miles from London, yet have I been nine times there, upon the Lord and his truth's account ; and of all the times that I was at London, this last time was most comfortable, that the Lord was pleased to give me strength and ability to travel that great journey, being seventy-six years of age, to see my dear husband, who was better in his health and strength than many times I had seen him before. I look upon that, that the Lord's special hand was in it, that I should go then, for he lived but about half a year after I left him ; which makes me admire the wisdom and goodness of God, in ordering my journey at that time.

And now he hath finished his course, and his testimony, and is entered into his eternal rest and felicity. I trust

in the same powerful God, that his holy arm and power will carry me through, whatever he hath yet for me to do ; and that he will be my strength and support, and the bearer up of my head unto the end, and in the end. For I know his faithfulness and goodness, and I have experience of his love : to whom be glory and powerful dominion for ever : Amen.

The Testimony of some of the Author's Relations.

Neither days nor length of time with us, can wear out the memory of our dear and honoured father George Fox, whom the Lord hath taken to himself. And though his earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, and mortality put off, yet we believe he has a building with God eternally in the heavens, and is entered into rest, as a reward to those great labours, hard sufferings, and sore trials, he patiently endured for God and his truth. Of which truth he was made an able minister, and one, if not the first promulgator of it in our age ; who though of no great literature, nor seeming much learned, as to the outward (being hid from the wisdom of this world), yet he had the tongue of the learned, and could speak a word in due season to the conditions and capacities of most, especially to them that were weary, and wanted soul's rest ; being deep in the divine mysteries of the kingdom of God. And the word of life and salvation through him reached unto many souls, whereby many were convinced of their great duty of inward retiring to wait upon God ; and as they became diligent in the performance of that service, were also raised up to be preachers of the same everlasting gospel of peace and glad tidings to others, who are as seals to his ministry both in this and other nations, and may possibly give a more full account thereof. Howbeit we knowing his unwearied diligence, not sparing, but spending himself in the work and service whereunto he was chosen and called of God, could not but give this short testimony of his faithfulness therein, and likewise of his tender love and care towards us ; who as a tender father to children (in which capacity we stood, being so related unto him) he never failed to give us his wholesome counsel and advice. And not only so, but as a father in Christ he took care of the whole family and household of faith, which the Lord had made him an eminent overseer of, and endued him with such an excellent spirit of wisdom and understanding, to

propose and direct helps and advantages to the well-ordering and establishing of affairs and government in the church, as now are found very serviceable thereunto; and have greatly disappointed and prevented the false, loose, and libertine spirit in some who, to their own confusion have endeavoured (by separation and division) to disturb the church's peace. And although many of that sort have at sundry times shot their poisonous darts at him, publicly in print, and privately other ways, yet he has been always preserved by the heavenly power of God, out of the reach of their envy, and all perils and difficulties that attended on their account; who as a fixed star in the firmament of God's power did constantly abide, and held his integrity to the last, being of a sweet, savoury life; and as to conversation kept his garments clean: and though outwardly dead, yet liveth, and his memory is right precious unto us, as it is and will be to all that abide in the love of truth, and have not declined the way of it. For he was one of the Lord's worthies, valiant for the truth upon earth, not turning his back in the day of battle; but his bow still abiding in its strength, he through many hardships brought gladness and refreshment to Israel's camp, being assisted by the might of that power that always put the armies of aliens and enemies to flight. And now having finished his course, is removed from us into a glorious state of immortality and bliss, and is gathered unto the Lord as a shock of corn in its full season, and to that habitation of safety, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest.

John Rous,
William Meade,
Thomas Lower,
William Ingram,
Daniel Abraham,
Abraham Morrice,

Margaret Rous,
Sarah Meade,
Mary Lower,
Susanna Ingram,
Rachel Abraham,
Isabel Morrice.

An Epistle by way of Testimony, to Friends and Brethren of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in England, Wales, and elsewhere, concerning the decease of our faithful brother GEORGE FOX.

From our Second-days Morning Meeting in London, the 26th of the 11th month, 1690.

DEAR and truly beloved Friends, brethren and sisters in Christ Jesus, our blessed Lord and Saviour, we sincerely and tenderly salute you all in his free and tender love, wherewith he hath graciously visited us, and largely shed it abroad in our hearts and souls, to our own unspeakable comfort and consolation, and towards his whole heritage, and royal off-spring; blessed be his pure and powerful name for evermore. And our souls do truly and fervently desire, and breathe unto the God of all our mercies, that you all may be preserved, and kept truly faithful and diligent in his work and service, according to your heavenly calling and endowments with his light, grace, and truth, unto the end of your days; as being livingly engaged thereby, all your appointed time to serve him, and to wait, till your change come; that none may neglect that true improvement of your times and talents, that God has afforded you here, for your eternal advantage hereafter, in that inheritance and life immortal, that never fades away. And that the whole flock and heritage of Christ Jesus, which he has purchased and bought for himself with a price incorruptible, may always be so preserved in his own pure love and life, as to grow, increase, and prosper in the same; and thereby be kept in love, unity, and peace, with one another, as becomes his true and faithful followers, is that, which our very hearts and souls desire, being often truly comforted and enlarged in the living sense and feeling of the increase and aboundings thereof, among faithful friends and brethren.

And dear brethren and sisters, unto this our tender salutation, we are concerned in brotherly love, and true tender heartedness, to add and impart unto you some account of the decease of our dear and elder brother in Christ, namely, his and his church's true and faithful servant and minister, George Fox; whom it hath pleased the Lord to take unto himself, as he hath divers others of his faithful servants and ministers of late time; who have faithfully served out their generation, and finished their testimony and course with joy and peace. Howbeit, O

dear brethren and friends ! that so many worthies in Israel, and serviceable instruments in the Lord's hand, are of late taken away and removed from us, so soon one after another, appears a dispensation, that deeply and sorrowfully affects us, and many more, whose hearts are upright and tender toward God, and one to another in the truth. The consideration of the depth, weight, and meaning thereof, is very weighty upon our spirits, though their precious life and testimony lives with us, as being of that same body, united to one head, even Christ Jesus ; in which we still, and hope ever shall, have secret comfort and union with them, whom the Lord has removed, and taken to himself out of their earthly tabernacles and houses, into their heavenly and everlasting mansions.

This, our said dear brother, George Fox, was enabled by the Lord's power, to preach the truth fully and effectually, in our public meeting in White-hart-court, by Gracechurch-street, London, on the eleventh day of this instant 11th month, 1690. After which he said, I am glad I was here ; now I am clear, I am fully clear. Then he was the same day taken with some illness or indisposition of body, more than usual ; and continued weak in body for two days after, at our friend Henry Goldney's house in the same court, close by the meeting-house, in much contentment and peace, and very sensible to the last. In which time he mentioned divers friends, and sent for some in particular ; to whom he expressed his mind, for the spreading friends' books and truth in the world, and through the nations thereof ; as his spirit in the Lord's love and power was universally set, and bent for truth and righteousness, and the making known the way thereof to the nations and people afar off : signifying also to some friends, that all is well ; and the seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. That though he was weak in body, yet that the power of God is over all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly spirits ; which were his wonted sensible expressions, being in the living faith and sense thereof, which he kept to the end. And the thirteenth instant, between the ninth and tenth hour in the night, he quietly departed this life in peace ; being two days after the Lord enabled him to publish and preach the blessed truth in the meeting, as aforesaid. So that he clearly and evidently ended his days in his faithful testimony, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and peace and goodwill to all men ; being about sixty and six years of age (as we understand) when he departed this life.

And on the sixteenth of this instant, being the day ap-

pointed for his funeral, a very great concourse of friends and people assembled at our meeting-house in White-hart-court aforesaid, about the mid-day, in order to attend his body to our burying-place near Bunhill-fields to be interred, as friends' last office of love and respect due on that account. The meeting was held about two hours, with great and heavenly solemnity, manifestly attended with the Lord's blessed power and presence; and divers living testimonies given from a lively remembrance and sense of this his dear ancient servant, his blessed ministry and testimony of the breaking forth of this gospel-day; his innocent life, long and great travels, and labours of love in the everlasting gospel, for the turning and gathering many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ Jesus, the foundation of true faith; also of his manifold sufferings, afflictions and oppositions, which he met withal for his faithful testimony, both from his open adversaries and false brethren; and his preservations, dominion, and deliverances out of them all by the power of God: to whom the glory and honour was and is ascribed, in raising up and preserving this his faithful witness and minister to the end of his days; whose blessed memorial will everlastingly remain.

He loved truth and righteousness, and bore faithful testimony against deceit and falsehood, and the mystery of iniquity; and often, of late time especially, warned friends against covetousness, earthly-mindedness, against getting into the earth, and into a brittle spirit; and the younger sort, against looseness and pride of life, &c.

A few days before he died, he had a great concern upon his mind, concerning some, in whom the Lord's power was working, to lead them into a ministry and testimony to his truth; who, through their too much entangling themselves in the things of this world, did make themselves unready to answer the call and leadings of the power of God, and hurt the gift, that was bestowed upon them, and did not take that regard to their service and ministry, as they ought; and mentioned the apostle's exhortation to Timothy, to take heed to his ministry, and to shew himself approved, &c. And expressed his grief concerning such, as preferred their own business before the Lord's business, and sought the advancing worldly concerns before the concerns of truth. And concluded with a tender and fatherly exhortation to all, to whom God had imparted of his heavenly treasure, that they would improve it faithfully, and be diligent in the Lord's work, that the earth might be sown with the seed of the kingdom, and God's harvest

might be minded by those, whom he had called and enabled to labour therein; and that such would commit the care of their outward concerns to the Lord, who would care for them, and give a blessing to them. However, this is not mentioned to encourage any to run unsent, or without being called of God.

Many are living witnesses, that the Lord raised him up by his power, to proclaim his mighty day to the nations, and made him an effectual instrument in our day, to turn many from darkness to light, and from Satan's power to God; and freely to suffer and bear all reproaches, and the manifold persecutions, buffetings, halings, stonings, imprisonments, and cruelties, that were in the beginning, and for some time inflicted on him and others, for the name of Christ Jesus. He was in his testimony as a fixed star in the firmament of God's power, where all that be truly wise, and that turn many to righteousness, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever. He knew and preached the mystery of Christ revealed, the life and substance, and the power of godliness, above all shadows and forms. The Lord endued him with a hidden wisdom and life. He loved peace, and earnestly laboured for universal love, unity, peace, and good order, in the churches of Christ; and wherever he met with the contrary, it was his great grief and burthen. He was greatly for the encouragement of faithful labourers in the Lord's work; and it was a great offence and grief to him, to have their testimony weakened, or labours slighted through prejudice in any professing truth.

And inasmuch as the Lord suffered him not to be delivered up to the will of his enemies and persecutors, who often heretofore breathed out cruelty against him, and designed his destruction; but in his good pleasure so fairly and quietly took him away in his own time, when his testimony was so blessedly finished, and his work accomplished. This is all remarkable, and worthy of serious and due observation, as being by a special and Divine Providence and wisdom of God; to whom we ascribe the glory of all, and not unto man or creatures. Though we must needs allow, and own, that good report and due esteem, which faithful elders, ministers, and servants of God and Christ, have by faith obtained, to the praise of that blessed power, that upheld them in every age in their day; many whereof are even of late taken away from the evil to come, and are at rest in the Lord, out of the reach of all envy and persecution, where the wicked cannot trouble them any more.

And we must patiently bear our parting with them, and our loss and sorrow on that account, with respect to their unspeakable gain. Yet how can we avoid being deeply affected with sadness of spirit, and brokenness of heart, under the sense and consideration of such loss and revolutions, which we have cause to believe are ominous of calamities to the wicked world, though of good to the righteous. Did the death of plain upright Jacob, namely Israel, (who was as a prince of God) so deeply affect both his own children and kindred, as that they made a great and exceeding sore lamentation for him; and even the Egyptians also, that they bewailed him seventy days? And the death of Moses so deeply affect the children of Israel, as that they did weep and mourn for him in the plain of Moab thirty days? And the death of Stephen, that faithful martyr of Jesus, so deeply affect certain men fearing God, as that they made great lamentation for him? And the apostle Paul, when taking his leave of the Elders of the church of Ephesus, and telling them, they should see his face no more? If this did so deeply affect them, that they wept all abundantly, sorrowing most of all for these words, that they should see his face no more, (with many more of this kind;) how then can we otherwise chuse, but be deeply affected with sorrow and sadness of heart (though not as those, which have no hope) when so many of our ancient, dear, and faithful brethren, (with whom we have had much sweet society) are removed from us one after another? (We pray, God raise up and increase more such!) Yet must we all contentedly submit to the good pleasure and wisdom of the Lord our God in all these things; who taketh away, and none can hinder him, nor may any say unto him, What dost thou? Yet we have cause to bless the Lord, that he hath of late raised, and is raising up more to publish his name in the earth. And we that yet remain, have but a short time to stay after them that are gone; but we shall be gone to them also. The Lord God of life keep us all faithful in his holy truth, love, unity, and life, to the end. He hath a great work still to bring forth in the earth, and great things to bring to pass, in order to make way for truth and righteousness, to take place therein; and that his seed may come forth, and be gathered, and the power and kingdom of our God and of his Christ, made known and exalted in the earth, unto the ends thereof.

Dear friends and brethren, be faithful, till death, that a crown of life you may obtain. All dwell in the love of God in Christ Jesus, in union and peace in him; to whom we

tenderly commit you to keep and strengthen you, bless and preserve you, to the end of your days. In whose dear and tender love we remain,

Your dear friends and brethren,

Stephen Crisp,	Gilbert Latey,
Geo. Whitehead,	Charles Marshal,
Fra. Camfield,	Rich. Needham,
James Park,	James Martin,
John Elson,	Daniel Monro,
Peter Price,	John Heywood,
John Field,	George Bowles,
John Edridge,	William Robinson,
Nicholas Gates,	William Bingley,
Francis Stamper,	John Butcher,
John Vaughton,	Benjamin Antrobus.

These names are since added, at the desire of the persons following :

Sam. Goodaker,	William Fallowfield.
Amb. Rigg,	

Postscript.

Before his death he wrote a little paper, desiring all friends every where, that use to write to him about the sufferings and affairs of friends in their several countries, should henceforth write to their several correspondents in London, to be communicated to the second-days meeting, to take care that they be answered.

Thomas Ellwood's account of that eminent and honourable servant of the Lord, GEORGE FOX.

THIS holy man was raised up by God in an extraordinary manner, for an extraordinary work, even to awaken the sleeping world, by proclaiming the mighty day of the Lord to the nations, and publishing again the everlasting gospel to the inhabitants of the earth, after the long and dismal night of apostacy and darkness. For this work the Lord began to prepare him by many and various trials and exercises from his very childhood; and having fitted and furnished him for it, he called him into it very young, and

made him instrumental, by the effectual working of the Holy Ghost, through his ministry, to call many others into the same work, and to turn many thousands from darkness to the light of Christ, and from the power of Satan unto God. I knew him not till the year 1660; from that time to the time of his death I knew him well, conversed with him often, observed him much, loved him dearly, and honoured him truly; and upon good experience can say, he was indeed an heavenly-minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things. He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in suffering for it, unwearied in labouring in it, steady in his testimony to it; immoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clear in opening heavenly mysteries, plain and powerful in preaching, fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wisdom, quick in discerning, sound in judgment, able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel, a lover of righteousness, an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self-denial in all, both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, instructive in discourse, free from affectation in speech or carriage; a severe reprovcr of hard and obstinate sinners; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender, and sensible of their failings; not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest, where the honour of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church, were concerned; very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care; for, indeed, the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously sought. Beloved he was of God; beloved of God's people; and (which was not the least part of his honour) the common butt of all apostates' envy; whose good, notwithstanding, he earnestly sought. He lived to see the desire of his soul, the spreading of that blessed principle of divine light, through many of the European nations, and not a few of the American islands and provinces, and the gathering many thousands into an establishment therein; which the Lord vouchsafed him the honour to be the first effectual publisher of, in this latter age of the world. And having fought a good fight, finished his course, and kept the faith, his righteous soul, (freed from the earthly tabernacle, in which he had led an

exemplary life of holiness) was translated into those heavenly mansions, where Christ our Lord went to prepare a place for his; there to possess that glorious crown of righteousness, which is laid up for, and shall be given by the Lord the righteous judge, to all them that love his appearance. Ages to come, and people yet unborn shall call him blessed, and bless the Lord for raising of him up. And blessed shall we also be, if we so walk, as we had him for an example; for whom this Testimony lives in my heart, he lived and died the servant of the Lord.

T. E.

Advertisement.

Forasmuch as many other Testimonies from divers counties and friends concerning George Fox, and his great service for the truth are sent up to London, which cannot conveniently be printed with the Journal, lest they should swell it too big; and many of them being of the same import, therefore they are reserved for further consideration, to be disposed of, as a future service may be seen in the wisdom of God for them, when way is made for his epistles, or any of his other works to be published.

The appearance of the Lord's everlasting Truth, and breaking forth again in his Eternal Power in this our day and age in England—

WHEREIN the Lord's mighty power and word of life hath been richly and freely preached, to the gathering of many into reconciliation with God by it; to the exaltation and glory of the great God, through the bringing forth of the heavenly and spiritual fruits, from such as have been gathered by his eternal light, power, and spirit, unto himself. And by the sowing to the spirit in the hearts of people, life eternal hath been reaped; that the flocks have been gathered, which have the milk of the word plenteously; that the riches of the word have flourished, and mightily abounded; and God's heavenly plough with his spiritual men hath gone on chearfully, to the overturning the fallow ground of the hearts, that had not borne heavenly fruit to God. And God's heavenly threshers with his heavenly flail, have with joy and delight threshed out the chaff, and the corruptions, that have been a top of

God's seed and wheat in man and woman. And thus have they threshed in hope, and are made partakers of their hope, through which God's seed is come into his garner.

Oh! the unutterable glory, and the unexpressible excellency of the everlasting glorious truth, gospel, and word of life, that the infinite, invisible, and wise God, (who is over all) hath revealed and manifested! And how have the professors, priests, and powers risen up in opposition against his children, that are born of the immortal seed by the word of God! And, Oh! how great have the persecutions, and reproaches, and spoiling of goods been, that have been executed upon them! But they that have touched them, and touches them, which are as dear to God, as the apple of his eye, how hath the Lord manifested himself to stand by them, in overthrowing powers, priests, and states! What changes have there been since (1644) and 1650, and 1652! How have the gaols been filled since then in this nation with the heirs of life, God's chosen ones, who had no helper in the earth, but the Lord and his Christ! So that truth's faithful witnesses were scarcely to be found, but in gaols and prisons, where the righteous were numbered among the transgressors; who had neither staff nor bag from man, but the staff, the bread of life, and the bag that holds the treasure, that waxes not old. But the Lord Jesus Christ, that sent them forth, was their exceeding great supporter and upholder by his eternal power and spirit, both then and now.

G. F.

A JOURNAL,
OR
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE, TRAVELS, SUFFERINGS, AND CHRISTIAN
EXPERIENCES, &c.
OF
GEORGE FOX.

THAT all may know the dealings of the Lord with me, and the various exercises, trials, and troubles, through which he led me, in order to prepare and fit me for the work unto which he had appointed me, and may thereby be drawn to admire and glorify his infinite wisdom and goodness, I think fit (before I proceed to set forth my public travels in the service of Truth) briefly to mention how it was with me in my youth, and how the work of the Lord was begun, and gradually carried on in me, even from my childhood.

I was born in the month called July, in the year 1624, at Drayton in the Clay, in Leicestershire. My father's name was Christopher Fox: he was by profession a weaver, an honest man; and there was a seed of God in him. The neighbours called him Righteous Christer. My mother was an upright woman; her maiden name was Mary Lago, of the family of the Lago's, and of the stock of the martyrs.

In my very young years I had a gravity and stayedness of mind and spirit, not usual in children; insomuch, that when I have seen old men carry themselves lightly and wantonly towards each other, I have had a dislike thereof risen in my heart, and have said within myself, If ever I come to be a man, surely I should not do so, nor be so wanton.

When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for while I was a child I was taught how to walk to be kept pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things, and to act faithfully two ways, viz. inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; and to keep to Yea and Nay in all things. For the Lord shewed me, that though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit, and changeable words, yet I was to keep to Yea and Nay in all things; and that my words should be few and savoury, seasoned with grace; and that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health; using the creatures in their service, as servants in their places, to the glory of him that hath created them; they being in their covenant, and I being brought up into the covenant, as sanctified by the word, which was in the beginning, by which all things are upheld, wherein is unity with the creation.

But people, being strangers to the covenant of life with God, they eat and drink to make themselves wanton with the creatures, devouring them upon their own lusts, and living in all filthiness, loving foul ways, and devouring the creation; and all this in the world, in the pollutions thereof, without God: and therefore I was to shun all such.

Afterwards, as I grew up, my relations thought to have made me a priest; but others persuaded to the contrary: whereupon I was put to a man that was a shoemaker by trade, and that dealt in wool, and used grazing, and sold cattle, and a great deal went through my hands. While I was with him he was blessed, but after I left him he broke, and came to nothing. I never wronged man or woman in all that time; for the Lord's power was with me, and over me, to preserve me. While I was in that service I used in my dealings the word Verily, and it was a common saying among people that knew me, If George says verily, there is no altering him. When boys and rude people would laugh at me, I let them alone, and went my way; but people had generally a love to me for my innocency and honesty.

When I came towards nineteen years of age, I being upon business at a fair, one of my cousins, whose name was Bradford, (being a professor, and having another professor with him) came to me and asked me to drink part of a jug of beer with them, and I, being thirsty, went in with them; for I loved any that had a sense of good, or that did seek after the Lord. And when we had drunk a glass a piece, they began to drink healths, and called for more drink,

agreeing together, that he that would not drink should pay all. I was grieved that any that made profession of religion should do so. They grieved me very much, having never had such a thing put to me before, by any sort of people; wherefore I rose up to be gone, and putting my hand into my pocket I took out a groat and laid it down upon the table before them, and said, If it be so, I'll leave you. So I went away; and when I had done what business I had to do I returned home, but did not go to bed that night, nor could not sleep, but sometimes walked up and down, and sometimes prayed and cried to the Lord, who said unto me, Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth, and thou must forsake all, both young and old, and keep out of all, and be as a stranger unto all.

Then at the command of God, on the ninth day of the seventh month, 1643, I left my relations, and brake off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young: and I passed to Lutterworth, where I stayed some time; and from thence I went to Northampton, where also I made some stay: then passed from thence to Newport Pagnel in Buckinghamshire, where, after I had staid awhile, I went unto Barnet, and came thither in the fourth month, called June, in the year 1644. And as I thus travelled through the countries, professors took notice of me, and sought to be acquainted with me, but I was afraid of them, for I was sensible they did not possess what they professed. Now during the time that I was at Barnet, a strong temptation to despair came upon me; and then I saw how Christ was tempted, and mighty troubles I was in; and sometimes I kept myself retired in my chamber, and often walked solitary in the chace there, to wait upon the Lord.

And I wondered why these things should come to me, and I looked upon myself and said, Was I ever so before? Then I thought, because I had forsaken my relations, I had done amiss against them; so I was brought to call to mind all my time that I had spent, and to consider whether I had wronged any: but temptations grew more and more, and I was tempted almost to despair: and when Satan could not effect his design upon me that way, then he laid snares for me, and baits to draw me to commit some sin, whereby he might take advantage to bring me to despair. I was about twenty years of age when these exercises came upon me; and some years I continued in that condition in great troubles, and fain I would have put it from me; and I went to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them.

From Barnet I went to London, where I took a lodging, and was under great misery and trouble there; for I looked upon the great professors of the city of London, and I saw all was dark and under the chain of darkness; and I had an uncle there, one Pickering, a Baptist, (and they were tender then), yet I could not impart my mind to him, nor join with them; for I saw all, young and old, where they were. Some tender people would have had me stayed, but I was fearful, and returned homewards in Leicestershire again, having a regard upon my mind unto my parents and relations lest I should grieve them, who, I understood, were troubled at my absence.

When I was come down into Leicestershire my relations would have had me married, but I told them I was but a lad, and I must get wisdom. Others would have had me into the auxiliary band among the soldiery, but I refused; and I was grieved that they proffered such things to me, being a tender youth. Then I went to Coventry, where I took a chamber for awhile at a professor's house, till people began to be acquainted with me, for there were many tender people in that town. After some time I went into my own country again, and was there about a year, in great sorrows and troubles, and walked many nights by myself.

Then the priest of Drayton (the town of my birth) whose name was Nathaniel Stevens, would come often to me, and I went often to him, and another priest sometimes would come with him; and they would have given place to me to hear me, and I would ask them questions, and reason with them. And this priest Stevens asked me a question, viz. Why Christ cried out upon the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and why he said, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me, yet not my will, but thine be done?" and I told him, at that time the sins of all mankind were upon him, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, which he was to bear, and to be an offering for them, as he was man, but died not, as he was God: and so, in that he died for all men, and tasted death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world. (This I spake, being at that time in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings, and what he went through.) And the priest said, It was a very good, full answer, and such an one as he had not heard. And at that time he would applaud and speak highly of me to others; and what I said in discourse to him on the week-days, that he would preach on the first-days, for which I did not like him; and this priest afterwards became my great persecutor.

After this I went to another ancient priest at Mansetter, in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations; but he was ignorant of my condition, and he bid me take tobacco, and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in an estate to sing; I could not sing. Then he bid me come again, and he would tell me many things; but when I came again he was angry and pettish, for my former words had displeased him; and he told my troubles, and sorrows, and griefs, to his servants, so that it was got among the milk-lasses, which grieved me that I should open my mind to such an one. I saw they were all miserable comforters; and this brought my troubles more upon me. Then I heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man, and I went seven miles to him; but I found him but like an empty hollow cask. Then I heard of one called Dr. Cradock, of Coventry; and I went to him, and I asked him the ground of temptations and despair, and how troubles came to be wrought in man? He asked me, Who was Christ's father and mother? I told him, Mary was his mother, and that he was supposed to be the son of Joseph, but he was the Son of God. Now as we were walking together in his garden, the alley being narrow, I chanced, in turning, to set my foot on the side of a bed, at which the man was in such a rage as if his house had been on fire; and thus all our discourse was lost, and I went away in sorrow, worse than I was when I came. I thought them miserable comforters; and I saw they were all as nothing to me, for they could not reach my condition. After this I went to another, one Macham, a priest in high account, and he would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me either in arms or head (though they endeavoured it) my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief, and troubles, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born to see vanity and wickedness, or that I had been born blind that I might never have seen wickedness nor vanity, and deaf that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed. And when the time called Christmas came, while others were feasting and sporting themselves, I would have gone and looked out poor widows from house to house, and have given them some money. And when I was invited to marriages (as I sometimes was) I would go to none at all, but the next day, or soon after, I would go and visit them; and if they were poor I gave them some money, for I had

wherewith both to keep myself from being chargeable to others, and to administer something to the necessities of others.

About the beginning of the year 1646, as I was going to Coventry and entering towards the gate, a consideration arose in me how it was said that all Christians are believers, both protestants and papists; and the Lord opened to me that if all were believers then they were all born of God, and passed from death to life, and that none were true believers but such; and though others said they were believers, yet they were not. At another time, as I was walking in a field on a first-day morning, the Lord opened unto me, that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ, and I stranged at it, because it was the common belief of people; but I saw it clearly as the Lord opened it to me, and was satisfied, and admired the goodness of the Lord who had opened this thing unto me that morning, which struck at priest Stevens's ministry, namely, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man fit to be a minister of Christ; so that which opened in me I saw struck at the priest's ministry. But my relations were much troubled at me, that I would not go with them to hear the priest; for I would get into the orchard, or the fields, with my bible, by myself. And I told them, did not the apostle say to believers, that they needed no man to teach them, but as the anointing teacheth them? And though they knew this was scripture, and that it was true, yet they would be grieved because I could not be subject in this matter to go to hear the priest with them; for I saw that a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be: and I saw that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge did not qualify or fit a man to be a minister of Christ; and what then should I follow such for? so neither them, nor any of the dissenting people, could I join with, but was as a stranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jesus Christ.

At another time it was opened in me, "That God, who made the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands." This at first seemed a strange word, because both priests and people used to call their temples or churches dreadful places, and holy ground, and the temples of God; but the Lord shewed me, so that I did see clearly that he did not dwell in these temples, which men had commanded and set up, but in people's hearts: for both Stephen and the apostle Paul bore testimony that he did not dwell in temples made with hands, nor even in that which he had

once commanded to be built, since he put an end to it; but that his people were his temple, and he dwelt in them. This opened in me as I walked in the fields to my relation's house; and when I came there, they told me that Nathaniel Stevens, the priest, had been there, and told them he was afraid of me for going after new lights: and I smiled in myself, knowing what the Lord had opened in me concerning him and his brethren; but I told not my relations, who though they saw beyond the priests, yet they went to hear them, and were grieved because I would not go also: but I brought them scriptures, and told them, there was an anointing within man to teach him, and that the Lord would teach his people himself. And I had great openings concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when I spake of them, the priests and professors would say, that was a sealed up book, and would have kept me out of it: but I told them, Christ could open the seals, and that they were the nearest things to us; for the epistles were written to the saints that lived in former ages, but the revelations were written of things to come.

After this I met with a sort of people that held, women have no souls, (adding in a light manner) no more than a goose. But I reprov'd them, and told them that was not right; for Mary said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."

And removing again to another place, I came among a people that relied much on dreams: and I told them, except they could distinguish between dream and dream, they would mash or confound altogether; for there were three sorts of dreams, for multitude of business sometimes caused dreams, and there were whisperings of Satan in man in the night-season, and there were speakings of God to man in dreams: but these people came out of these things, and at last became friends.

Now though I had great openings, yet great trouble and temptation came many times upon me; so that when it was day, I wished for night, and when it was night, I wished for day: and by reason of the openings I had in my troubles, I could say as David said, "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge." And when I had openings, they answered one another, and answered the scriptures; for I had great openings of the scriptures. And when I was in troubles, one trouble also answered to another.

About the beginning of the year 1647, I was moved of the Lord to go into Derbyshire, where I met with some friendly people, and had many discourses with them. Then

passing further into the Peak-country, I met with more friendly people, and with some in empty high notions. And travelling on through some parts of Leicestershire and into Nottinghamshire, there I met with a tender people, and a very tender woman, whose name was Elizabeth Hootton, and with these I had some meetings and discourses. But my troubles continued, and I was often under great temptations; and I fasted much, and walked abroad in solitary places many days, and often took my bible, and went and sat in hollow trees and lonesome places till night came on; and frequently in the night walked mournfully about by myself: for I was a man of sorrows in the times of the first workings of the Lord in me.

Now during all this time I was never joined in profession of religion with any, but gave up myself to the Lord, having forsaken all evil company, and taken leave of father and mother and all other relations, and travelled up and down as a stranger in the earth, which way the Lord inclined my heart; taking a chamber to myself in town where I came, and tarrying sometimes a month, sometimes more, sometimes less in a place; for I durst not stay long in any place, being afraid both of professor and profane, lest, being a tender young man, I should be hurt by conversing much with either, for which reason I kept myself much as a stranger, seeking heavenly wisdom and getting knowledge from the Lord, and was brought off from outward things, to rely wholly on the Lord alone; and though my exercises and troubles were very great, yet were they not so continual, but that I had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such an heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me; so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery. Oh, the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress, when my "troubles and torments were great, then was his love exceeding great. Thou, Lord, makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field; thou bringest down and settest up; thou killest and makest alive; all honour and glory be to thee, O Lord of glory; the knowledge of thee in the Spirit is life; but that knowledge which is fleshly works death." And while there is this knowledge in the flesh, deceit and self will conform to any thing, and will say yes, yes, to that it doth not know. The knowledge which the world hath of what the prophets and apostles spake, is a fleshly

knowledge, and the apostates from the life, in which the prophets and apostles were, have gotten their words, the Holy Scriptures in a form, but not in their life nor spirit that gave them forth; and so they all lie in confusion, and are making provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof, but not to fulfil the law and command of Christ in his power and spirit; for that, they say, they cannot do, but to fulfil the lusts of the flesh, that they can do with delight.

Now after I had received that opening from the Lord, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not sufficient to fit a man to be a minister of Christ, I regarded the priests less, and looked more after the dissenting people; and among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had some openings. But as I had forsaken all the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people, for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. And when all my hopes in them and in all men was gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do; then, O! then I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition;' and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord did let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition; namely, that I might give him all the glory, for all are concluded under sin and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the preeminence, who enlightens and gives grace, and faith and power; thus when God doth work who shall let it? and this I knew experimentally. My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book or writing; for though I read the Scriptures that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew him not, but by revelation, as he who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to his Son by his Spirit; and then the Lord did gently lead me along and did let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, and surpasseth all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books, and that love did let me see myself as I was without him; and I was afraid of all company, for I saw them perfectly where they were, through the love of God which let me see myself. And I had not fellowship with any people, priests nor professors, nor any sort of separated people, but with Christ, who hath the key, and opened the door of light and life unto me; and I was

afraid of all carnal talk and talkers, for I could see nothing but corruptions, and the life lay under the burden of corruptions. And when I myself was in the deep under all shut up, I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrows and my temptations were so great, that I thought many times I should have despaired, I was so tempted. But when Christ opened to me, how he was tempted by the same devil, and had overcome him and bruised his head, and through him and his power, light, grace and spirit I should overcome also, I had confidence in him; so he it was that opened to me, when I was shut up and had not hope nor faith. Christ it was (who had enlightened me) that gave me his light to believe in, and gave me hope which is himself, revealed himself in me, and gave me his spirit, and gave me his grace, which I found sufficient in the deeps and in weakness; thus in the deepest miseries and in the greatest sorrows and temptations, that many times beset me, the Lord in his mercy did keep me. And I found that there were two thirsts in me, the one after the creatures, to have gotten help and strength there; and the other after the Lord, the Creator, and his Son Jesus Christ. And I saw all the world could do me no good, if I had had a king's diet, palace and attendance, all would have been as nothing; for nothing gave me comfort but the Lord by his power; and I saw professors, priests and people were whole and at ease in that condition which was my misery, and they loved that which I would have been rid of. But the Lord did stay my desires upon himself, from whom my help came, and my care was cast upon him alone; therefore all wait patiently upon the Lord, whatsoever condition you be in, wait in the grace and truth that comes by Jesus; for if ye so do there is a promise to you, and the Lord God will fulfil it in you; and blessed are all they indeed that do indeed hunger and thirst after righteousness, they shall be satisfied with it; I have found it so, praised be the Lord who filleth with it, and satisfieth the desires of the hungry soul. O let the house of the spiritual Israel say, "His mercy endureth for ever." It is the great love of God to make a wilderness of that which is pleasant to the outward eye and fleshly mind, and to make a fruitful field of a barren wilderness; this is the great work of God. But while people's minds do run in the earthly, after the creatures and changeable things and changeable ways and religions, and changeable uncertain teachers, their minds are in bondage and they are brittle and changeable, and tossed up and down with windy doctrines and thoughts,

and notions and things, their minds being from the unchangeable truth in the inward parts, the light of Jesus Christ, which would keep their minds to the unchangeable, who is the way to the Father, who in all my troubles did preserve me by his spirit and power, praised be his holy name for ever.

Again I heard a voice which did say, "Thou serpent, thou dost seek to destroy the life, but canst not; for the sword which keepeth the tree of life shall destroy thee." So Christ, the word of God, that bruised the head of the serpent, the destroyer, preserved me; my inward mind being joined to his good seed that bruised the head of this serpent the destroyer. And this inward life did spring up in me, to answer all the opposing professors and priests, and did bring in Scriptures to my memory to refute them with.

At another time I saw the great love of God, and I was filled with admiration at the infiniteness of it; and then I saw what was cast out from God, and what entered into God's kingdom; and how by Jesus, the opener of the door by his heavenly key, the entrance was given; and I saw death how it had passed upon all men, and oppressed the seed of God in man and in me; and how I in the seed came forth, and what the promise was to. Yet it was so with me that there seemed to be two pleading in me, and questionings arose in my mind about gifts and prophecies; and I was tempted again to despair, as if I had sinned against the Holy Ghost, and I was in great perplexity and trouble for many days; yet I gave up myself to the Lord still; and one day when I had been walking solitarily abroad and was come home, I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of his love; and while I was in that condition, it was opened unto me by the eternal light and power, and I therein clearly saw, that all was done, and to be done, in and by Christ, and how he conquers and destroys this tempter, the devil, and all his works, and is a top of him; and that all these troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith which Christ had given me; and the Lord opened me that I saw through all these troubles and temptations, my living faith was raised, that I saw all was done by Christ, the life, and my belief was in him. And when at any time my condition was veiled, my secret belief was stayed firm, and hope underneath held me, as an anchor in the bottom of the sea, and anchored my immortal soul to its Bishop, causing it to swim above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests and

temptations are. But, oh! then did I see my troubles, trials, and temptations more than ever I had done. As the light appeared, all appeared that is out of the light, darkness, death, temptations, the unrighteous, the ungodly, all was manifest and seen in the light. Then, after this, there did a pure fire appear in me; then I saw how he sat as a refiner's fire and as the fuller's soap; and then the spiritual discerning came into me, by which I did discern my own thoughts, groans and sighs, and what it was that did vail me, and what it was that did open me. And that which could not abide in the patience, nor endure the fire, in the light I found to be the groans of the flesh, that could not give up to the will of God, which had vailed me, and that could not be patient in all trials, troubles, and anguishes and perplexities, and could not give up self to die by the cross, the power of God, that the living and quickened might follow him, and that that which would cloud and vail from the presence of Christ, that which the sword of the spirit cuts down, and which must die, might not be kept alive. And I discerned the groans of the Spirit which did open me, and made intercession to God, in which Spirit is the true waiting upon God, for the redemption of the body and of the whole creation. And by this true Spirit, in which the true sighing is, I saw over the false sighings and groanings; and by this invisible spirit I discerned all the false hearing and the false seeing, and the false smelling which was a top, above the spirit, quenching and grieving it; and that all they that were there, were in confusion and deceit, where the false asking and praying is, in deceit and a top, in that nature and tongue that takes God's holy name in vain, and wallows in the Egyptian sea, and asketh, but hath not, for they hate his light and resist the Holy Ghost, and turn the grace into wantonness, and rebel against the Spirit, and are erred from the faith they should ask in, and from the Spirit they should pray by; he that knoweth these things in the true spirit can witness them; the divine light of Christ manifesteth all things, and the spiritual fire trieth all things, and severeth all things. Several things did I then see as the Lord opened them to me; for he shewed me that which can live in his holy refining fire, and that can live to God under his law; and he made me sensible how the law and the prophets were until John, and how the least in the everlasting kingdom of God is greater than John. The pure and perfect law of God is over the flesh, to keep it, and its works, which are not perfect, under by the perfect law; and the law of God that is perfect, answers the perfect principle of God

in every one ; and this law the Jews, and the prophets, and John, were to perform and do : none knows the giver of this law but by the Spirit of God, neither can any truly read it or hear its voice, but by the Spirit of God ; he that can receive it, let him. John, who was the greatest prophet that was born of a woman, did bear witness to the light, which Christ, the great heavenly prophet, hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world withal, that they might believe in it and become the children of light, and so have the light of life, and not come into condemnation ; for the true belief stands in the light that condemns all evil, and the devil, who is the prince of darkness, who would draw out of the light into condemnation. And they that walk in this light come to the mountain of the house of God, established above all mountains, and to God's teaching, who will teach them his ways. These things were opened to me in the light.

And I saw the mountains burning up and the rubbish, and the rough and crooked ways and places made smooth and plain, that the Lord might come into his tabernacle ; these things are to be found in man's heart. But to speak of these things being within, seemed strange to the rough and crooked, and mountainous ones ; yet the Lord saith, " O Earth, hear the word of the Lord ;" the law of the Spirit crosseth the fleshly mind, spirit and will, which lives in disobedience, and doth not keep within the law of the Spirit. And I saw this law was the pure love of God, which was upon me, and which I must go through, though I was troubled while I was under it, for I could not be dead to the law, but through the law which did judge and condemn that which is to be condemned. I saw many talked of the law who had never known the law to be their schoolmaster, and many talked of the gospel of Christ, who had never known life and immortality brought to light in them by it. You that have been under that schoolmaster and the condemnation of it, know these things (for though the Lord in that day opened these things unto me in secret, they have since been published by his eternal Spirit, as on the house top). And as you are brought into the law, and through the law to be dead to it, and witness the righteousness of the law fulfilled in you, ye will afterwards come to know what it is to be brought into the faith, and through faith from under the law, and abiding in the faith, which Christ is the author of, ye will have peace and access to God. But if ye look out from the faith, and from that which would keep you in the victory, and look after fleshly things or words, ye will

be brought into bondage to the flesh again, and to the law which takes hold upon the flesh and sin, and worketh wrath, and the works of the flesh will appear again. The law of God takes hold upon the law of sin and death; but the law of faith, or the law of the Spirit of life, which is the love of God, and which comes by Jesus (who is the end of the law for righteousness-sake) this makes free from the law of sin and death. This law of life fleshly-minded men do not know, yet they will tempt you, to draw you from the Spirit into the flesh and so into bondage; therefore ye, who know the love of God and the law of his Spirit, and the freedom that is in Jesus Christ, stand fast in him in that divine faith which he is the author of in you, and be not entangled with the yoke of bondage; for the ministry of Christ Jesus and his teaching, bringeth into liberty and freedom; but the ministry that is of man, and by man, and which stands in the will of man, bringeth into bondage and under the shadow of death and darkness; and therefore none can be a minister of Christ Jesus but in the eternal Spirit, which was before the Scriptures were given forth, for if they have not his Spirit they are none of his. Though they may have his light to condemn them that hate it, yet they can never bring any into unity and fellowship in the Spirit, except they be in it; for the seed of God is a burdensome stone to the selfish, fleshly, earthly will, which reigns in its own knowledge and understanding that must perish, and in its wisdom that is devilish. And the Spirit of God is grieved and vexed, and quenched with that which brings into the fleshly bondage, and that which wars against the Spirit of God must be mortified by it; for the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other. The flesh would have its liberty, and the Spirit would have its liberty, but the Spirit is to have its liberty and not the flesh. If therefore ye quench the Spirit and join to the flesh, and be servants of it, then ye are judged and tormented by the Spirit; but if ye join to the Spirit and serve God in it, ye have liberty and victory over the flesh and its works. Therefore keep in the daily cross, the power of God, by which ye may witness all that to be crucified, which is contrary to the will of God, and which shall not come into his kingdom. These things are here mentioned and opened for information, exhortation and comfort to others, as the Lord opened them unto me in that day; and in that day I wondered that the children of Israel should murmur for water and victuals, for I could have fasted long without murmuring or minding victuals.

But I was judged sometimes, that I was not contented to be sometimes without the water and bread of life, that I might learn to know how to want and how to abound.

And I heard of a woman in Lancashire, that had fasted two and twenty days, and I travelled to see her; but when I came to her I saw that she was under a temptation, and when I had spoken to her what I had from the Lord, I left her, her father being one high in profession. And passing on I went among the professors at Duckenfield and Manchester, where I staid a while, and declared truth among them; and there were some convinced, who received the Lord's teaching, by which they were confirmed and stood in the truth. But the professors were in a rage, all pleading for sin and imperfection, and could not endure to hear talk of perfection and of an holy and sinless life. But the Lord's power was over all, though they were chained under darkness and sin, which they pleaded for, and quenched the tender thing in them.

About this time there was a great meeting of the Baptists, at Broughton in Leicestershire, with some that had separated from them, and people of other notions went thither, and I went thither also; not many of the Baptists came, but abundance of other people were there. And the Lord opened my mouth, and the everlasting truth was declared amongst them, and the power of the Lord was over them all; for in that day the Lord's power began to spring, and I had great openings in the Scriptures, and several were convinced in those parts, and were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and his power they did receive, and by it many were raised up to praise God. And when I reasoned with professors and other people, some were convinced and did stand; yet I was under great temptations sometimes, and my inward sufferings were heavy, but I could find none to open my condition to but the Lord alone, unto whom I cried night and day. And I went back into Nottinghamshire, and there the Lord shewed me that the natures of those things, which were hurtful without, were within in the hearts of wicked men. The natures of dogs, swine, vipers, of Sodom and Egypt, Pharoah, Cain, Ishmael, Esau, &c. the natures of these I saw within, though people had been looking without. And I cried to the Lord, saying, Why should I be thus, seeing I was never addicted to commit those evils? and the Lord answered, That it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, how else should I speak to all conditions? and in this I saw the infinite love of God. I saw also, that there was an ocean of darkness and death, but an infinite ocean of light

and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness, and in that also I saw the infinite love of God, and I had great openings. And as I was walking by the steeple-house side, in the town of Mansfield, the Lord said unto me, That which people do trample upon must be thy food. And as the Lord spake he opened it to me, how that people and professors did trample upon the life, even the life of Christ was trampled upon, and they fed upon words, and fed one another with words, but trampled upon the life; and trampled under foot the blood of the Son of God (which blood was my life,) and they lived in their airy notions talking of him. It seemed strange to me at the first, that I should feed on that which the high professors trampled upon, but the Lord opened it clearly to me by his eternal Spirit and power.

Then came people from far and near to see me: and I was fearful of being drawn out by them; yet I was made to speak, and open things to them. There was one Brown, who had great prophecies and sights upon his death-bed of me. And he spake openly of what I should be made instrumental by the Lord to bring forth. And of others he spake that they should come to nothing; which was fulfilled on some that then were something in shew. And when this man was buried, a great work of the Lord fell upon me, to the admiration of many, who thought I had been dead; and many came to see me for about fourteen days time; for I was very much altered in countenance and person, as if my body had been new moulded or changed. And while I was in that condition, I had a sense and discerning given me by the Lord, through which I saw plainly, that when many people talked of God and of Christ, &c. the serpent spake in them; but this was hard to be borne. Yet the work of the Lord went on in some, and my sorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from me, so that I could have wept night and day with tears of joy to the Lord, in humility and brokenness of heart. And I saw into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered, and of the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God, which cannot be expressed by words. For I had been brought through the very ocean of darkness and death, and through the power and over the power of Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Christ; even through that darkness was I brought, which covered over all the word, and which chained down all, and shut up all in the death. And the same eternal power of God, which brought me through these things, was that which afterwards shook the nations,

priests, professors and people. Then could I say I had been in spiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Christ. And I saw the harvest white, and the seed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat that was sown outwardly, and none to gather it; and for this I mourned with tears. And a report went abroad of me, that I was a young man that had a discerning spirit; whereupon many came to me, from far and near, professors, priests, and people; and the Lord's power brake forth; and I had great openings and prophecies; and spake unto them of the things of God, and they heard with attention and silence, and went away, and spread the fame thereof. Then came the tempter, and set upon me again, charging me, that I had sinned against the Holy Ghost; but I could not tell in what. And then Paul's condition came before me, how, after he had been taken up into the third heavens, and seen things not lawful to be uttered, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him again. Thus by the power of Christ I got over that temptation also.

In the year 1648, as I was sitting in a friend's house in Nottinghamshire (for by this time the power of God had opened the hearts of some to receive the word of life and reconciliation), I saw there was a great crack to go throughout the earth, and a great smoke to go as the crack went; and that after the crack there should be a great shaking: this was the earth in people's hearts, which was to be shaken before the seed of God was raised out of the earth. And it was so, for the Lord's power began to shake them, and great meetings we began to have, and a mighty power and work of God there was amongst people, to the astonishment of both people and priests.

And there was a meeting of priests and professors at a justice's house, and I went among them. And there they discoursed how Paul said, "He had not known sin, but by the law, which said, Thou shalt not lust:" and they held that to be spoken of the outward law. But I told them, Paul spake that after he was convinced; for he had the outward law before, and was bred up in it, when he was in the lust of persecution; but this was the law of God in his mind, which he served, and which the law in his members warred against; for that which he thought had been life to him, proved death. So the more sober of the priests and professors yielded, and consented that it was not the outward law, but the inward, which shewed the inward lust which Paul spake of after he was con-

vinced : for the outward law took hold upon the outward action ; but the inward law upon the inward lust.

After this I went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of professors and people ; and I was moved to pray. And the Lord's power was so great, that the house seemed to be shaken. And when I had done, some of the professors said, it was now as in the days of the apostles, when the house was shaken where they were. After I had prayed, one of the professors would pray, which brought deadness and a veil over them : and others of the professors were grieved at him, and told him, it was a temptation upon him. Then he came to me and desired that I would pray again ; but I could not pray in man's will.

Soon after there was another great meeting of professors, and a captain (whose name was Amor Stoddard) came in ; and they were discoursing of the blood of Christ. And as they were discoursing of it, I saw, through the immediate opening of the invisible spirit, the blood of Christ. And I cried out among them, and said, ' Do ye not see the blood of Christ ? See it in your hearts, to sprinkle your hearts and consciences from dead works, to serve the living God : ' for I saw it, the blood of the New Covenant, how it came into the heart. This startled the professors, who would have the blood only without them, and not in them. But captain Stoddard was reached, and said, ' Let the youth speak ; hear the youth speak ; ' when he saw they endeavoured to bear me down with many words.

There were also a company of priests that were looked upon to be tender (one of their names was Kellet), and several people that were tender went to hear them. And I was moved to go after them, and bid them mind the Lord's teaching in their inward parts. That priest Kellet was against parsonages then ; but afterwards he got a great one, and turned a persecutor.

Now, after I had had some service in these parts, I went through Derbyshire into my own county Leicestershire again, and several tender people were convinced. And passing thence, I met with a great company of professors in Warwickshire, who were praying, and expounding the Scriptures in the fields, and they gave the bible to me, and I opened it on the fifth of Matthew, where Christ expounded the law ; and I opened the inward state to them, and the outward state ; and they fell into a fierce contention, and so parted ; but the Lord's power got ground.

Then I heard of a great meeting to be at Leicester, for a dispute, wherein both presbyterians, independents, bap-

tists, and common prayer-men were said to be all concerned. The meeting was in a steeple-house, and thither I was moved by the Lord God to go, and be amongst them. And I heard their discourse and reasonings, some being in pews, and the priest in the pulpit, abundance of people being gathered together. At last one woman asked a question out of Peter, what that birth was, viz. a being born again of incorruptible seed, by the word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever? And the priest said to her, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the church;' though he had before given liberty for any to speak. Whereupon I was wrapped up, as in a rapture, in the Lord's power; and I stepped up in a place, and asked the priest, 'Dost thou call this (the steeple-house) a church? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?' For the woman asking a question, he ought to have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak. But he did not answer me neither, but asked me what a church was; I told him, the church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of: but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones and wood. This set them all on fire: the priest came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred. But I went to a great inn, and there disputed the thing with the priests and professors of all sorts; and they were all on a fire. But I maintained the true church, and the true head thereof, over the heads of them all, till they all gave out and fled away. And there was one man that seemed loving, and appeared for a while to join with me; but he soon turned against me, and joined with a priest, in pleading for infants' baptism, though he himself had been a baptist before; and so left me alone. Howbeit there were several convinced that day; and the woman that asked the question aforesaid was convinced, and her family; and the Lord's power and glory shined over all.

After this I returned into Nottinghamshire again, and went into the vale of Beavor. And as I went I preached repentance to the people; and there were many convinced in the vale of Beavor, in many towns, for I stayed some weeks amongst them. And one morning as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me; and I sat still. And it was said, 'All things come by nature;' and the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it: but inasmuch as I sat still and said nothing, the people of the

house perceived nothing. And as I sat still under it, and let it alone, a living hope arose in me, and a true voice arose in me, which said, 'There is a living God, who made all things.' And immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all, and my heart was glad, and I praised the living God. And after some time I met with some people that had such a notion, that there was no God, but that all things came by nature. And I had great dispute with them, and overturned them, and made some of them confess that there was a living God: then I saw that it was good that I had gone through that exercise. And we had great meetings in those parts, for the power of the Lord broke through in that side of the country. And returning into Nottinghamshire, I found there a company of shattered baptists, and others; and the Lord's power wrought mightily, and gathered many of them. Then afterwards I went to Mansfield and there-away, where the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested both at Mansfield and other towns thereabouts. And in Derbyshire the mighty power of God wrought in a wonderful manner. At Eton, a town near Derby, there was a meeting of Friends, where there was such a mighty power of God, that they were greatly shaken, and many mouths were opened in the power of the Lord God. And many were moved by the Lord to go to steeple-houses, to the priests and to the people, to declare the everlasting truth unto them.

And at a certain time, when I was at Mansfield, there was a sitting of the justices about hiring of servants; and it was upon me from the Lord to go and speak to the justices, that they should not oppress the servants in their wages. So I walked towards the inn where they sat; but finding a company of fiddlers there, I did not go in, but thought to come in the morning, when I might have a more serious opportunity to discourse them, not thinking that a seasonable time: but when I came again in the morning, they were gone, and I was struck even blind that I could not see. And I enquired of the innkeeper where the justices were to sit that day; and he told me, at a town eight miles off. And my sight began to come to me again; and I went and ran thitherward as fast as I could. And when I was come to the house where they were, and many servants with them, I exhorted the justices not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just to them. And I exhorted the servants to do their duties, and serve honestly, &c. And they all received my exhortation kindly, for I was moved of the Lord therein.

Moreover I was moved to go to several courts, and steeple-houses at Mansfield, and other places, to warn them to leave off oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit, and to turn to the Lord, and do justly. Particularly at Mansfield, after I had been at a court there, I was moved to go and speak to one of the wickedest men in the country, one who was a common drunkard, a noted whore-master, and a rhyme-maker; and I reprov'd him in the dread of the mighty God, for his evil courses. And when I had done speaking, and left him, he came after me, and told me, that he was so smitten when I spake to him, that he had scarce any strength left in him. So this man was convinced, and turned from his wickedness, and remained an honest sober man, to the astonishment of the people who had known him before. Thus the work of the Lord went forward, and many were turned from the darkness to the light within the compass of these three years, 1646, 1647, and 1648. And divers meetings of Friends, in several places, were then gathered to God's teaching, by his light, spirit and power; for the Lord's power brake forth more and more, wonderfully.

Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword, into the paradise of God. All things were new; and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I say I was come up to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was shewed me how all things had their names given them, according to their nature and virtue. And I was at a stand in my mind, whether I should practice physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see into another or more stedfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall. And the Lord shewed me, that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation, and the virtues thereof may be known, through the openings of that divine word of wisdom and power by which they were made. Great things did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me, beyond what can by words be declared; but as people come into subjection to the Spirit of God, and grow up in the image and power of the Almighty, they may receive

the word of wisdom, that opens all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the Eternal Being.

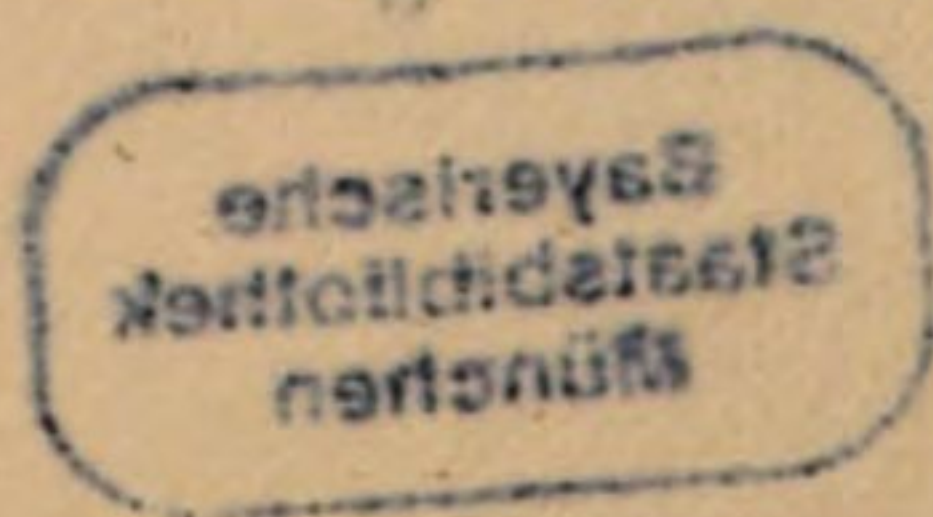
Thus I travelled on in the Lord's service as the Lord led me. And when I came to Nottingham, the mighty power of God was there among Friends. From thence I went to Clauson in Leicestershire, in the vale of Beavor, and the mighty power of God was there also, in several towns and villages where Friends were gathered. While I was there, the Lord opened to me three things, relating to those three great professions in the world, physic, divinity (so called), and law. And he shewed me that the physicians and doctors of physic were out of the wisdom of God, by which the creatures were made; and so knew not the virtues of the creatures, because they were out of the word of wisdom, by which they were made. And he shewed me that the priests were out of the true faith, which Christ is the author of; the faith which purifies and gives victory, and brings people to have access to God, by which they please God; which mystery of faith is held in a pure conscience. He shewed me also, that the lawyers were out of the equity, and out of the true justice, and out of the law of God, which went over the first transgression, and over all sin, and answered the Spirit of God, that was grieved, and transgressed in man. And that these three, the physicians, the priests, and the lawyers, ruled the world out of the wisdom, out of the faith, and out of the equity and law of God; the one pretending the cure of the body, the other the cure of the soul, and the third the property of the people. But I saw they were all out, out of the wisdom, out of the faith, out of the equity and perfect law of God. And as the Lord opened these things unto me, I felt his power went forth over all, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive and bow unto it. The priests might be reformed, and brought into the true faith, which was the gift of God. The lawyers might be reformed, and brought into the law of God, which answers that of God (that is transgressed) in every one, and brings to love one's neighbour as himself: this lets man see, if he wrongs his neighbour he wrongs himself; and this teaches him to do unto others as he would they should do unto him. The physicians might be reformed, and brought into the wisdom of God, by which all things were made and created; that they might receive a right knowledge of the creatures, and understand the virtues of them, which the word of wisdom, by which they were made and are upheld, hath given them. Abundance was opened concerning these things; how all lay out of the wisdom of God, and out of the right-

teousness and holiness that man at the first was made in : but as all believe in the light, and walk in the light, which Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world withal, and so become children of the light, and of the day of Christ, in his day all things are seen, visible and invisible, by the divine light of Christ, the spiritual, heavenly man, by whom all things were made and created.

Then I saw concerning the priests, that although they stood in the deceit, and acted by the dark power, which both they and their people were kept under, yet they were not the greatest deceivers spoken of in the scriptures ; for these were not come so far as many of them had come. But the Lord opened to me who the greatest deceivers were, and how far they might come ; even such as came as far as Cain, to hear the voice of God ; and such as came out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, and to praise God on the banks of the sea shore ; such as could speak by experience of God's miracles and wonders ; such as were come as far as Korah and Dathan, and their company ; such as came as far as Balaam, who could speak the word of the Lord, who heard his voice, and knew it, and knew his spirit ; and could see the star of Jacob, and the goodness of Israel's tent ; the second birth, which no enchantment could prevail against : these that could speak so much of the experiences of God, and yet turned from the spirit and the word, and went into the gainsaying : these were, and would be the great deceivers, far beyond the priests. Likewise among the Christians, such as should preach in Christ's name, and should work miracles, cast out devils, and go as far as a Cain, a Korah and a Balaam in the gospel times, these were and would be the great deceivers ; they that could speak some experiences of Christ and God, but lived not in the life. These were they that led the world after them, who got the form of godliness, but denied the power ; who inwardly ravened from the spirit, and brought people into the form, but persecuted them that were in the power (as Cain did,) and ran greedily after the error of Balaam, through covetousness, loving the wages of unrighteousness, as Balaam did. These followers of Cain, Korah and Balaam have brought the world since the apostles' days to be like a sea. And such as these, I saw, might deceive now, as they had in former ages : but it is impossible for them to deceive the elect, who were chosen in Christ, who was before the world began, and before deceiver was ; though others may be deceived in their openings and prophecies, not keeping their minds to the Lord Jesus Christ, who doth open and reveal to his.

And I saw the state of those, both priests and people, who in reading the scriptures cry out much against Cain, Esau, and Judas, and other wicked men of former times, mentioned in the holy scriptures; but do not see the nature of Cain, of Esau, of Judas, and those others in themselves. And these said, it was they, they, they, that were the bad people; putting it off from themselves: but when some of these came with the light and spirit of truth to see into themselves, then they came to say, I, I, I, it is I myself, that have been the Ishmael, and the Esau, &c. For then they came to see the nature of wild Ishmael in themselves; the nature of Cain, of Esau, of Korah, of Balaam, and of the son of perdition in themselves, sitting above all that is called God in them. So I saw it was the fallen man that was got up into the scriptures, and was finding fault with those before mentioned; and with the backsliding Jews, calling them the sturdy oaks, and tall cedars, and fat bulls of Bashan, wild heifers, vipers, serpents, &c. And charging them, that it was they that closed their eyes, and stopped their ears, and hardened their hearts, and were dull of hearing: and that it was they that hated the light, and rebelled against it, and that quenched the spirit, and vexed and grieved it, and walked despitefully against the spirit of grace, and turned the grace of God into wantonness: and that it was they that resisted the Holy Ghost; and they that got the form of godliness, and turned against the power: and that they were the inwardly ravening wolves, that had got the sheep's cloathing: and that they were the wells without water, and clouds without rain, and trees without fruit, &c. But when these (who were so much taken up with finding fault with others, and thought themselves clear from these things) came to look into themselves, and with the light of Christ thoroughly to search themselves, they might see enough of this in themselves; and then the cry could not be, it is he, or they, as before; but I, and we, are found in these conditions.

I saw also how people read the Scriptures without a right sense of them, and without duly applying them to their own states. For when they read that death reigned from Adam to Moses, and that the law and the prophets were until John, and that the least in the kingdom is greater than John; they read these things without them, and applied them to others without them (and the things were true of others without them:) but they did not turn in to find the truth of these things in themselves. But as these things came to be opened in me, I saw death reigned over them from Adam to Moses, from the entrance into



transgression till they came to the ministration of condemnation, which restrains people from sin, that brings death. Then when the ministration of Moses is passed through, the ministry of the prophets comes to be read and understood, which reaches through the figures, types, and shadows unto John, the greatest prophet born of a woman, whose ministration prepares the way of the Lord, by bringing down the exalted mountains, and making straight paths. And as this ministration is passed through, an entrance comes to be known into the everlasting kingdom. So I saw plainly that none could read Moses aright, without Moses's spirit, by which Moses saw how man was in the image of God in Paradise, and how he fell, and how death came over him, and how all men have been under this death. And I saw how Moses received the pure law, that went over all transgressors; and how the clean beasts, which were figures and types, were offered up, when the people were come into the righteous law that went over the first transgression. And both Moses and the prophets saw through the types and figures, and beyond them, and saw Christ the great prophet, that was to come to fulfil them. And I saw that none could read John's words aright, and with a true understanding of them, but in and with the same divine Spirit, by which John spake them, and by his burning, shining light, which is sent from God. For by that spirit their crooked natures might be made straight, and their rough natures smooth, and the exactor and violent doer in them might be thrown out: and they that had been hypocrites might come to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and their mountain of sin and earthliness might be laid low in them, and their valley exalted in them, that there might be a way prepared for the Lord in them: and then the least in the kingdom is greater than John. But all must first know the voice crying in their wilderness, in their hearts, which through transgression were become as a wilderness. Thus I saw, it was an easy matter to say, death reigned from Adam to Moses; and, that the law and the prophets were until John; and, that the least in the kingdom is greater than John: but none could know how death reigned from Adam to Moses, &c. but by the same Holy Spirit which Moses and the prophets, and John were in. They could not know the spiritual meaning of Moses, the prophets, and John's words, nor see their path and travels, much less see through them, and to the end of them into the kingdom, unless they had the spirit and light of Jesus; nor could they know the words of Christ and of his apostles,

without his spirit. But as man comes through, by the spirit and power of God, to Christ (who fulfills the types, figures, shadows, promises, and prophecies, that were of him) and is led by the Holy Ghost into the truth and substance of the Scriptures, sitting down in him who is the author and end of them; then are they read, and understood, with profit and great delight.

Moreover, the Lord God let me see (when I was brought up into his image in righteousness and holiness, and into the paradise of God) the state how Adam was made a living soul; and also the stature of Christ, the mystery, that had been hid from ages and generations; which things are hard to be uttered, and cannot be borne by many. For of all the sects in Christendom (so called) that I discoursed withal, I found none that could bear to be told that any should come to Adam's perfection, into that image of God and righteousness, and holiness, that Adam was in before he fell; to be so clear and pure without sin as he was. Therefore, how should they be able to bear being told that any should grow up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, when they cannot bear to hear that any should come, whilst upon earth, into the same power and spirit that the prophets and apostles were in. Though it be a certain truth that none can understand their writings aright, without the same spirit by which they were written.

Now the Lord God hath opened to me by his invisible power, how that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ; and I saw it shine through all: and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation, and came to the light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the pure openings of the light, without the help of any man; neither did I then know where to find it in the Scriptures (though afterwards, searching the Scriptures, I found it). For I saw in that light and spirit which was before Scripture was given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth, that all must come to that spirit if they would know God or Christ, or the Scriptures aright, which they that gave them forth were led and taught by.

But I observed a dullness and drowsy heaviness upon people, which I wondered at: for sometimes, when I would set myself to sleep, my mind went over all to the beginning, in that which is from everlasting to everlasting. And I saw, death was to pass over this sleepy, heavy state.

And I told people they must come to witness death to that sleepy, heavy nature, and a cross to it in the power of God, that their minds and hearts might be on things above.

And on a certain time, as I was walking in the fields, the Lord said unto me; 'Thy name is written in the Lamb's book of life, which was before the foundation of the world.' And as the Lord spake it, I believed, and saw it in the new birth. Then sometime after the Lord commanded me to go abroad into the world, which was like a briary, thorny wilderness. And when I came in the Lord's mighty power, with the word of life into the world, the world swelled, and made a noise, like the great raging waves of the sea. Priests and professors, magistrates and people were all like a sea, when I came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongst them, and to preach repentance to them.

Now I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus: for to as many as should receive him in his light, I saw that he would give power to become the sons of God; which I had obtained by receiving Christ. And I was to direct people to the Spirit, that gave forth the Scriptures, by which they might be led into all truth, and so up to Christ and God, as they had been who gave them forth. And I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus; that by this grace they might be taught, which would bring them salvation, that their hearts might be established by it, and their words might be seasoned, and all might come to know their salvation nigh. For I saw that Christ had died for all men, and was a propitiation for all; and had enlightened all men and women with his divine and saving light, and that none could be a true believer but who believed in it. I saw that the grace of God, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man, to profit withal. These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter (though they are written in the letter), but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his immediate spirit and power, as did the holy men of God, by whom the Holy Scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the Holy Scriptures, but they were very precious to me, for I was in that spirit by which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of these things, and many volumes might be written, but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love,

wisdom, and power of God, in preparing, fitting, and furnishing me, for the service he had appointed me to; letting me see the depths of Satan on the one hand, and opening to me on the other hand, the divine mysteries of his own everlasting kingdom.

Now when the Lord God and his son Jesus Christ did send me forth into the world, to preach his everlasting gospel and kingdom, I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to that inward light, spirit and grace, by which all might know their salvation, and their way to God; even that divine spirit which would lead them into all truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any.

But with and by this divine power and Spirit of God, and the light of Jesus, I was to bring people off from all their own ways, to Christ the new and living way; and from their churches (which men had made and gathered) to the church of God, the general assembly written in heaven, which Christ is the head of; and off from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life, of whom the Father said, This is my beloved Son, hear ye him; and off from all the world's worships, to know the spirit of truth in the inward parts, and to be led thereby; that in it they might worship the Father of spirits, who seeks such to worship him: which spirit they that worshipped not in, knew not what they worshipped. And I was to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are vain, that they might know the pure religion, and might visit the fatherless, the widows, and the strangers, and keep themselves from the spots of the world: and then there would not be so many beggars, the sight of whom often grieved my heart, to see so much hard-heartedness amongst them that professed the name of Christ. And I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowships, and prayings, and singings, which stood in forms without power; that their fellowships might be in the Holy Ghost, and in the Eternal Spirit of God; that they might pray in the Holy Ghost, and sing in the spirit and with the grace that comes by Jesus; making melody in their hearts to the Lord, who hath sent his beloved Son to be their Saviour, and caused his heavenly sun to shine upon all the world, and through them all, and his heavenly rain to fall upon the just and the unjust (as his outward rain doth fall, and his outward sun doth shine on all) which is God's unspeakable love to the world. And I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, and from heathenish fables, and from mens' in-

ventions and worldly doctrines, by which they blowed the people about this way and the other way, from sect to sect; and all their beggarly rudiments, with their schools and colleges for making ministers of Christ, who are indeed ministers of their own making, but not of Christ's. And all their images and crosses, and sprinkling of infants, with all their holy-days (so called) and all their vain traditions which they had gotten up since the apostles' days, which the Lord's power was against; and in the dread and authority thereof was I moved to declare against them all, and against all that preached, and not freely, as being such as had not received freely from Christ.

Moreover when the Lord sent me forth into the world, he forbad me to put off my hat to any, high or low. And I was required to Thee and Thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people good morrow, or good evening; neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one; and this made the sects and professions to rage. But the Lord's power carried me over all to his glory, and many came to be turned to God in a little time; for the heavenly day of the Lord sprang from on high, and brake forth apace, by the light of which many came to see where they were.

But oh, the rage that then was in the priests, magistrates, professors, and people of all sorts, but especially in priests and professors; for, though Thou to a single person was according to their own learning, their accidence and grammar rules, and according to the bible, yet they could not bear to hear it: and the hat-honour, because I could not put off my hat to them, it set them all into a rage. But the Lord shewed me that it was an honour below, which he would lay in the dust, and stain it; an honour which proud flesh looked for, but sought not the honour which came from God only: that it was an honour invented by men in the fall, and in the alienation from God, who were offended if it were not given them, and yet would be looked upon as saints, church members, and great Christians: but Christ saith, "How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" "And I (saith Christ) receive not honour of men:" shewing that men have an honour, which men will receive and give; but Christ will have none of it. This is the honour which Christ will not receive, and which must be laid in the dust. Oh, the rage and scorn, the heat and fury that arose. Oh, the blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we

underwent, for not putting off our hats to men : for that soon tried all men's patience and sobriety what it was. Some had their hats violently plucked off, and thrown away, so that they quite lost them. The bad language and evil usage we received on this account is hard to be expressed, besides the danger we were sometimes in of losing our lives for this matter, and that by the great professors of Christianity, who thereby discovered that they were not true believers. And though it was but a small thing in the eye of man, yet a wonderful confusion it brought among all professors and priests : but blessed be the Lord, many came to see the vanity of that custom of putting off the hat to men, and felt the weight of Truth's testimony against it.

About this time I was sorely exercised in going to their courts to cry for justice, and in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly, and in warning such as kept public houses for entertainment, that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good ; and in testifying against their wakes or feasts, their May-games, sports, plays, and shews, which trained up people to vanity and looseness, and led them from the fear of God ; and the days they had set forth for holy-days were usually the times wherein they most dishonoured God by these things. In fairs also, and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandize, and cheating, and cozening ; warning all to deal justly and to speak the truth, and to let their yea be yea, and their nay be nay ; and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them : and forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord, which would come upon them all. I was moved also to cry against all sorts of music, and against the mountebanks playing tricks on their stages, for they burthened the pure life, and stirred up people's minds to vanity. I was much exercised too with schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, warning them to teach their children sobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be nursed and trained up in lightness, vanity, and wantonness. Likewise I was made to warn masters and mistresses, fathers and mothers in private families, to take care that their children and servants might be trained up in the fear of the Lord ; and that they themselves should be therein examples and patterns of sobriety and virtue to them. For I saw that as the Jews were to teach their children the law of God and the old covenant, and to train them up in it, and their servants, yea the very strangers were to keep the sabbath amongst them, and be circumcised, be-

fore they eat of their sacrifices, so all Christians, and all that made a profession of Christianity, ought to train up their children and servants in the new covenant of light, Christ Jesus, who is God's salvation to the ends of the earth, that all may know their salvation: and they ought to train them up in the law of life, the law of the spirit, the law of love and of faith; that they might be made free from the law of sin and death. And all Christians ought to be circumcised by the Spirit, which puts off the body of the sins of the flesh, that they may come to eat of the heavenly sacrifice, Christ Jesus, that true spiritual food, which none can rightly feed upon, but they that are circumcised by the Spirit. Likewise, I was exercised about the star gazers, who drew people's minds from Christ, the bright and the morning star; and from the sun of righteousness, by whom the sun, and moon, and stars, and all things else were made, who is the wisdom of God, and from whom the right knowledge of all things is received.

But the black earthly spirit of the priest wounded my life: and when I heard the bell toll to call people together to the steeple-house, it struck at my life: for it was just like a market bell, to gather people together, that the priest might set forth his ware to sale. O the vast sums of money that are gotten by the trade they make of selling the Scriptures, and by their preaching, from the highest bishop to the lowest priest. What one trade else in the world is comparable to it? notwithstanding that the Scriptures were given forth freely, and Christ commanded his ministers to preach freely, and the prophets and apostles denounced judgment against all covetous hirelings and diviners for money. But in this free spirit of the Lord Jesus was I sent forth, to declare the word of life and reconciliation freely, that all might come up to Christ, who gives freely, and who renews up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, that they might sit down in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

Now as I went towards Nottingham on a first-day in the morning, with friends to a meeting there, when I came on top of a hill in sight of the town, I espied the great steeple-house, and the Lord said unto me, thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein. So I said nothing of this to the friends that were with me, but went on with them to the meeting, where the mighty power of the Lord was amongst us; in which I left friends sitting in the meeting, and I went away to the steeple-house; and when I came there all the people

looked like fallow ground, and the priest (like a great lump of earth) stood in his pulpit above. And he took for his text these words of Peter, "We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." And he told the people that this was the Scriptures by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out and say, 'Oh no, it is not the Scriptures:' but I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried: for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth; for the Jews had the Scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star, and persecuted Christ and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the Scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried without the Holy Ghost. Now as I spake thus amongst them, the officers came and took me away, and put me into a nasty stinking prison, the smell whereof got so into my nose and throat that it very much annoyed me.

But that day the Lord's power sounded so in their ears, that they were amazed at the voice, and could not get it out of their ears for some time after, they were so reached by the Lord's power in the steeple-house. At night they took me out of prison, and had me before the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of the town; and when I was brought before them, the mayor was in a peevish, fretful temper, but the Lord's power allayed him. Then they examined me at large, and I told them how the Lord had moved me to come. Then, after some discourse had passed between them and me, they sent me back to prison again; but sometime after the head sheriff, whose name was John Reckless, sent for me to his house; and when I came in his wife met me in the hall, and said, 'Salvation is come to our house.' And she took me by the hand, and was much wrought upon by the power of the Lord God: and her husband, and children, and servants were much changed, for the power of the Lord wrought upon them; and I lodged at the sheriff's house, and great meetings we had in his house; and some persons of considerable condition in the world came to them, and the Lord's power appeared eminently amongst them. And this sheriff sent for the other sheriff, and for a woman they

had had dealings with in way of trade, and he told her before the other sheriff, that they had wronged her in their dealings with her (for the other sheriff and he were partners) and that they ought to make her restitution; this he spake chearfully. But the other sheriff denied it; and the woman said she knew nothing of it; but the friendly sheriff said it was so, and that the other knew it well enough: and then having discovered the matter, and acknowledged the wrong done by them, he made restitution to the woman, and exhorted the other sheriff to do the like. And the Lord's power was with this friendly sheriff, and wrought a mighty change in him, and great openings he had. And on the next market day following, as he was walking with me in the chamber, in his slippers, he said, 'I must go into the market, and preach repentance to the people;' and accordingly he went in his slippers into the market, and into several streets, and preached repentance to the people. Several others also in the town were moved to speak to the mayor and magistrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent. Hereupon the magistrates grew very angry, and sent for me from the sheriff's house, and committed me to the common prison. When the assize came on there was one moved to come and offer up himself for me, body for body; yea, life also: but when I should have been brought before the judge, the sheriff's man being somewhat long in fetching me to the sessions house, the judge was risen before I came; at which I understood the judge was somewhat offended, and said he would have admonished the youth if he had been brought before him; for I was then imprisoned by the name of a youth. So I was returned to prison again, and put into the common goal. And the Lord's power was great among friends; but the people began to be very rude: wherefore the governor of the castle sent down soldiers, and dispersed them; and after that they were quiet. But both priests and people were astonished at the wonderful power that brake forth; and several of the priests were made tender, and some did confess to the power of the Lord.

Now, after I was at liberty from Nottingham gaol, (where I had been kept prisoner a pretty long time) I travelled as before, in the work of the Lord. And coming to Mansfield-woodhouse, there was a distracted woman under a doctor's hand, with her hair loose all about her ears; and he was about to let her blood, she being first bound, and many people being about her, holding her by violence; but he could get no blood from her. And I desired them

to unbind her, and let her alone, for they could not touch the Spirit in her, by which she was tormented. So they did unbind her. And I was moved to speak to her, and in the name of the Lord to bid her be quiet and still; and she was so. And the Lord's power settled her mind, and she mended, and afterwards received the truth, and continued in it to her death. And the Lord's name was honoured; to whom the glory of all his works belongs. Many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power in those days; for the Lord made bare his omnipotent arm, and manifested his power to the astonishment of many, by the healing virtue whereof many have been delivered from great infirmities, and the devils were made subject through his name; of which particular instances might be given, beyond what this unbelieving age is able to receive or bear. But blessed for ever be the name of the Lord, and everlastingly honoured, and over all exalted, and magnified be the arm of his glorious power, by which he hath wrought gloriously; and let the honour and praise of all his works be ascribed to him alone.

Now while I was at Mansfield-woodhouse, I was moved to go to the steeple-house there, and declare the truth to the priest and people; but the people fell upon me in great rage, and struck me down, and almost stifled and smothered me; and I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with their hands, bibles, and sticks. Then they halled me out (though I was hardly able to stand) and put me into the stocks, where I sate some hours; and they brought dog-whips and horse-whips, threatening to whip me. And after some time they had me before the magistrate, at a knight's house, where were many great persons; who seeing how evilly I had been used, after much threatening, set me at liberty. But the rude people stoned me out of the town, for preaching the word of life to them. And I was scarce able to go, or well to stand, by reason of the ill usage I had received; yet with much ado I got about a mile from the town, and then I met with some people that gave me something to comfort me, because I was inwardly bruised; but the Lord's power soon healed me again. And that day some people were convinced of the Lord's truth, and turned to his teaching, at which I rejoiced.

Then went I out of Nottinghamshire into Leicestershire, several friends accompanying me; and there were some Baptists in that country whom I desired to see and speak with, because they were separated from the public worship. So one Oats, who was one of their chief teachers, and

others of the heads of them, with several others of their company, came to meet us at Barrow; and there we discoursed with them. One of them said, 'What was not of faith, was sin.' Whereupon I asked them what faith was, and how it was wrought in man? But they turned off from that, and spake of their baptism in water. Then I asked them whether their mountain of sin was brought down and laid low in them, and their rough and crooked ways made smooth and straight in them; for they looked upon the scriptures as meaning outward mountains and ways. But I told them they must find them in their own hearts; which they seemed to wonder at. And we asked them who baptized John the Baptist, and who baptized Peter, John, and the rest of the apostles, and put them to prove by scripture that these were baptized in water; but they were silent. Then I asked them, 'Seeing Judas, who betrayed Christ, and was called the Son of Perdition, had hanged himself, what Son of Perdition was that which Paul spake of, that sate in the temple of God, exalted above all that is called God; and what temple of God that was, in which this Son of Perdition sate; and whether he, that betrays Christ within in himself, be not one in nature with that Judas, that betrayed Christ without?' But they could not tell what to make of this, nor what to say to it; so after we had had some discourse together we parted; and some of them were loving to us.

On the first day of the week following we came to Bagworth, and went to a steeple-house, where some friends were got in; and the people locked them in, and themselves too, with the priest. But after the priest had done, they opened the door, and we went in also, and had a service for the Lord amongst them. Afterwards we had a meeting in the town amongst several people that were in high notions. Then passing from thence I heard of a people that were in prison in Coventry for religion. And as I walked towards the jail, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, 'My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love.' And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the jail, where those prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me, and I sat still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, and vapour, and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly grieved; they said they were God; but another of them said we could not bear such things. So when they were calm, I stood up and asked them whether they did such things by motion or from scrip-

ture; and they said from scripture. Then, a bible lying by, I asked them for that scripture; and they shewed me that place where the sheet was let down to Peter, and it was said to him, what was sanctified he should not call common or unclean. Now when I had shewed them that that scripture made nothing for their purpose, they brought another scripture, which spake of God's reconciling all things to himself, things in heaven, and things in earth. I told them I owned that scripture also, but shewed them that that was nothing to their purpose neither. Then seeing they said they were God, I asked them if they knew whether it would rain to-morrow; they said they could not tell. I told them God could tell. Again, I asked them if they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change; and they answered they could not tell. Then said I unto them, God can tell, and God doth not change. You say you are God, and yet you cannot tell whether you shall change or no. So they were confounded, and quite brought down for the time. Then after I had reprov'd them for their blasphemous expressions I went away; for I perceived they were Ranters, and I had met with none before; and I admired the goodness of the Lord in appearing so unto me before I went amongst them. Not long after this, one of these Ranters, whose name was Joseph Salmon, put forth a paper, or book of recantation; upon which they were set at liberty.

From Coventry I went to a place called Atherstone: and it being their lecture-day, I was moved to go to their chapel to speak to the priests and people; and they were generally pretty quiet; only some few raged, and would have had my relations to have bound me. I declared largely to them, how that God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all their man-made teachers to hear his son. And some were converted there.

Then went I to a place called Market-Bossoth, and there was a lecture there also. And he that preached there that day was Nathaniel Stevens, who was priest of the town where I was born; and he raged much when I spake to him and to the people, and told the people I was mad; (though he had said before, to one Colonel Purfoy, that there was never such a plant bred in England;) and he bid the people they should not hear me. So the people, being stirred up by this deceitful priest, fell upon us, and stoned us out of the town; yet they did not do us much hurt. Howbeit, some people were made loving that day, and others were confirmed, seeing the rage of both priests

and professors; and some cried out that the priest durst not stand to prove his ministry.

And as I travelled through markets, fairs, and divers places, I saw death and darkness in all people, where the power of the Lord God had not shaken them. And as I was passing on in Leicestershire, I came to a place called Twy-cross, where there were Excise-men; and I was moved of the Lord to go to them, and warn them to take heed of oppressing the poor; and people were much affected with it. Now there was in that town a great man, that had long lain sick, and was given over by the physicians; and some friends in the town desired me to go to see him. And I went up to him in his chamber, and spake the word of life to him, and was moved to pray by him; and the Lord was entreated, and restored him to health. But when I was come down the stairs, into a lower room, and was speaking to the servants, and to some people that were there, a serving-man of his came raving out of another room, with a naked rapier in his hand, and set it just to my side. But I looked stedfastly on him, and said, 'Alack for thee, poor creature! what wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon: it is no more to me than a straw.' The standers by were much troubled, and he went away in a rage, and full of wrath. But when the news of it came to his master, he turned him out of his service. Thus the Lord's power preserved me, and raised up the weak man, who afterwards was very loving to friends; and when I came to that town again, both he and his wife came to see me.

After this I was moved to go into Derbyshire, where the mighty power of God was among friends. And I went to Chesterfield, where one Britland was priest. He was one that saw beyond the common sort of priests, for he had been partly convinced, and had spoken much on behalf of truth before he was priest there; but when the priest of that town died he got the parsonage, and choked himself with it. So I was moved to speak to him and the people in the great love of God, that they might come off from all men's teaching unto God's teaching; and he was not able to gainsay. But they had me before the Mayor, and threatened to send me, with some others, to the House of Correction; and kept us in custody till it was late in the night; and then the officers with the watchmen put us out of the town, leaving us to shift as we could. So I bent my course towards Derby, having a friend or two with me; and in our way we met with many professors; and at Kidsey park many were convinced.

Then coming to Derby I lay at a doctor's house, whose wife was convinced ; and so were several more in the town. And as I was walking in my chamber, the bell rung, and it struck at my life at the very hearing of it ; so I asked the woman of the house what the bell rung for ; and she said there was to be a great lecture there that day, and many of the officers of the army, and priests and preachers were to be there that day, and a colonel, that was a preacher. Then was I moved of the Lord to go up to them ; and when they had done I spake to them, what the Lord commanded me, and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer, and took me by the hand, and said I must go before the magistrates, and the other two that were with me. It was about the first hour afternoon that we came before them. They asked me why we came thither ; I said, God moved us so to do ; and I told them God dwells not in temples made with hands. I told them also, all their preaching, baptism, and sacrifices, would never sanctify them ; and bid them look unto Christ in them, and not unto men ; for it is Christ that sanctifies. Then they ran into many words ; but I told them they were not to dispute of God and Christ, but to obey him. And the power of God thundered amongst them, and they did fly like chaff before it. They put me in and out of the room often, hurrying me backward and forward often ; for they were from the first hour till the ninth at night in examining me. And sometimes they would tell me, in a deriding manner, that I was taken up in raptures. At last they asked me whether I was sanctified ; I answered yes, for I was in the paradise of God. Then they asked me if I had no sin ; I answered, Christ, my Saviour, has taken away my sin, and in him there is no sin. They asked how we knew that Christ did abide in us ; I said, by his Spirit, that he hath given us. They temptingly, asked if any of us were Christ ; I answered, Nay, we were nothing, Christ was all. They said, if a man steal is it no sin ; I answered, all unrighteousness is sin. So when they had wearied themselves in examining me, they committed me and one other man to the House of Correction in Derby for six months, as blasphemers, as may appear by the mittimus, a copy whereof here followeth :

*To the Master of the House of Correction in Derby,
greeting.*

We have sent you herewithal the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, and John

Fretwell, late of Staniesby, in the county of Derby, husbandman, brought before us this present day, and charged with the avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions, contrary to a late Act of Parliament, which, upon their examination before us, they have confessed. These are therefore to require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to receive them, the said George Fox and John Fretwell, into your custody, and them therein safely to keep during the space of six months, without bail or mainprize, or until they shall find sufficient security to be of the good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourselves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and seals this 30th day of October, 1650.

Ger. Bennet,
Nath. Barton.

Now did the priests bestir themselves in their pulpits to preach up sin for term of life; and much of their work was to plead for it; so that people said, never was the like heard. Then after some time, he that was committed with me, not standing faithful in his testimony, got in with the gaoler, and by him made way to the justice to have leave to go see his mother; and so got his liberty. And then they reported, that he should say I had bewitched and deceived him; but my spirit was strengthened when he was gone. Now the priests and professors, the justices and the gaoler, were all in a great rage against me. The gaoler watched my words and actions, and would often ask me questions to ensnare me; and sometimes he would ask me such silly questions as, whether the door was latched or not; thinking to draw some sudden unadvised answer from me, from whence he might take advantage to charge sin upon me; but I was kept watchful and chaste, so that they could get no advantage of me, and they admired at it.

Not long after my commitment I was moved to write both to the priests and magistrates of Derby; and first I directed these following lines to the priests.

‘ O friends, I was sent unto you to tell you, that if you had received the gospel freely, you would minister it freely without money or price: but you make a trade and sale of what the prophets and the apostles have spoken, and so you corrupt the truth. And you are the men that lead silly women captive, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; you have a form of Godliness, but you deny the power. Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do you resist the truth, being men of cor-

rupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But you shall proceed no further, for your folly shall be made manifest to all men, as theirs was. Moreover the Lord sent me to tell you, that he doth look for fruits. You asked me if the scripture was my rule; but it is not your rule to rule your lives by, but to talk of in words. You are the men that live in pleasures, pride, and wantonness, in fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness. See if this be not the sin of Sodom. Lot received the angels, but Sodom was envious. You shew forth the vain nature; you stand in the steps of them that crucified my Saviour, and mocked him; you are their children; you shew forth their fruit. They had the chief place in the assemblies, and so have you; they loved to be called Rabbi, and so do you.'

G. F.

That which I wrote to the magistrates who committed me to prison, was to this effect:

' Friends,

' I am forced, in tender love unto your souls, to write unto you, and to beseech you to consider what you do, and what the commands of God call for. He doth require justice and mercy, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free. But who calleth for justice, or loveth mercy, or contendeth for the truth? Is not judgment turned backward, and doth not justice stand afar off? Is not truth silenced in the streets, or can equity enter? And do not they that depart from evil make themselves a prey? Oh! consider what ye do in time, and take heed whom ye do imprison; for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. Now, I intreat you, in time take heed what you do; for surely the Lord will come, and will make manifest both the builders and the work. And if it be of man it will fail; but if it be of God, nothing will overthrow it. Therefore I desire and pray, that you would take heed, and beware what you do, lest ye be found fighters against God.'

G. F.

Now, after I had thus far cleared my conscience to them, I waited in the holy patience, leaving the event to God, in whose will I stood. And after some time I was moved to write again to the justices, that had committed me to prison, to lay their evils before them, that they might repent. One of them that signed the mittimus, to wit, Nathaniel

Barton, was both a colonel, a justice, and a preacher; so I wrote to them as followeth:

‘ Friends,

‘ You did speak of the good old way, which the prophet spake of; but the prophet cried against the abominations which you hold up. Had you the power of God, ye would not persecute the good way. He that spake of the good way, was set in the stocks. The people cried, ‘ Away with him to the stocks,’ for speaking the truth. Ah! foolish people, which have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, without understanding! “ Fear ye not me,” saith the Lord, “ and will ye not tremble at my presence!” O your pride and abominations are odious in the eyes of God! You (that are preachers) have the chiefest place in the assemblies, and are called of men, master; and such were and are against my Saviour and Maker. And they shut up the kingdom of heaven from men, neither go in themselves, nor suffer others. Therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation, who have their places, and walk in their steps. You may say, if you had been in the days of the prophets, or Christ, ye would not have persecuted them; wherefore be ye witnesses against yourselves, that ye are the children of them, seeing, ye now persecute the way of truth. O consider, there is a true judge, that will give every one of you a reward according to your works. O mind where you are, you that hold up the abominations, which the true prophet cried against! O come down, and sit in the dust! The Lord is coming with power, and he will throw down every one that is exalted, that he alone may be exalted.’

And as I had thus written unto them jointly, so, after some respite of time, I wrote to each of them by himself. To justice Bennet thus:

‘ Friend,

‘ Thou that dost profess God and Christ in words, see how thou dost follow him; to take off burdens, and to visit them that be in prison, and shew mercy, and cloath thy own flesh, and deal thy bread to the hungry; these are God’s commandments: To relieve the fatherless, and to visit the widows in their afflictions, and to keep thyself unspotted of the world; this is pure religion before God. But if thou dost profess Christ, and followest covetousness, and greediness, and earthly-mindedness, thou deniest him in life, and deceivest thyself and others, and takest him for a cloke. Wo be to you greedy men and rich men;

weep and houl for your misery that shall come. Take heed of covetousness and extortion ; God doth forbid that. Wo be to the man that coveteth an evil covetousness, that he may set his nest on high, and cover himself with thick clay. O do not love that, which God doth forbid. His servant thou art, whom thou dost obey, whether it be of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness. Think upon Lazarus and Dives ; the one fared sumptuously every day, the other was a beggar. See, if thou be not Dives : be not deceived, God is not mocked with vain words ; evil communication corrupteth good manners ; awake to righteousness, and sin not.'

G. F.

That to justice Barton was in these words :

' Friend,

' Thou that preachest Christ, and the scriptures in words, when any come to follow that which thou hast spoken of, and to live the life of the scriptures, then they that speak the scriptures, but do not lead their lives according thereunto, persecute them that do. Mind the prophets, and Jesus Christ, and his apostles, and all the holy men of God ; what they spake was from the life ; but they that had not the life but the words, persecuted and imprisoned them that lived in the life, which they had back-slidden from.'

G. F.

Now, as I had written to the justices and to the priests, so it was upon me to write to the mayor of Derby also ; who (though he did not sign the mittimus) had a hand with the rest in sending me to prison ; and to him I wrote after this manner :

' Friend,

' Thou art set in place to do justice ; but in imprisoning my body thou hast done contrary to justice, according to your own law. O take heed of pleasing men more than God, for that is the way of the Scribes and Pharisees ; they sought the praise of men more than God. Remember who said, " I was a stranger, and ye took me not in ; I was in prison, and ye visited me not." O friend, thy envy is not against me, but against the power of truth. I had no envy to you, but love. O take heed of oppression, for the day of the Lord is coming, that shall burn as an oven ; and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, shall be as stubble ;

and the day that cometh, shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts; it shall leave them neither root nor branch. O friend, if the love of God were in thee, thou wouldst love the truth, and hear the truth spoken, and not imprison unjustly. The love of God beareth, and suffereth, and envieth no man. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would shew mercy; but you do shew forth what ruleth you. Every tree doth shew forth its fruit: you do shew forth your fruits openly. For drunkenness, swearing, pride, and vanity, rule among you, from the teacher to the people. O friend, mercy, and true judgment, and justice, are cried for in your streets! Oppression, unmercifulness, cruelty, hatred, pride, pleasures, wantonness, and fulness, is in your streets; but the poor is not regarded. O take heed of the Wo. Wo be to the crown of pride! Wo be to them that drink wine in bowls, and the poor is ready to perish. O remember Lazarus and Dives. One fared deliciously every day, and the other was a beggar. O friend, mind these things, for they are near; and see, whether thou be not the man, that is in Dives's state.'

I wrote also to the court at Derby thus.

'I am moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppressing the poor in your courts, or laying burdens upon poor people, which they cannot bear; and of false oaths, or making them to take oaths which they cannot perform. The Lord saith, "I will come near to judgment, and will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, against the false swearers, and against the idolaters, and against those that do oppress widows and fatherless." Therefore take heed of all these things betimes. The Lord's judgments are all true and righteous, and he delighteth in mercy; so love mercy, dear people, and consider in time.'

Likewise to the ringers, who used to ring the bells in the steeple-house, called St. Peter's in Derby, I sent these few lines:

'Friends,

'Take heed of pleasures, and prize your time now, while you have it, and do not spend it in pleasures, nor earthliness. The time may come, that you will say you had time, when it is past. Therefore look at the love of God now, while you have time; for it bringeth to loath all vanities

and worldly pleasures. O consider! Time is precious. Fear God, and rejoice in him, who hath made heaven and earth.'

Now, while I was there in prison, divers of the professors came unto me to discourse with me; and I had a sense, before they spake, that they came to plead for sin and imperfection. And I asked them whether they were believers, and had faith; and they said yes. Then I asked them in whom; and they said, in Christ. Then I replied, if ye are true believers in Christ, you are passed from death to life, and if passed from death, then from sin that bringeth death. And if your faith be true, it will give you victory over sin and the devil, and purify your hearts and consciences (for the true faith is held in a pure conscience) and it will bring you to please God, and give you access to him again. But they could not endure to hear of purity, and of victory over sin and the devil; for they said, they could not believe that any could be free from sin on this side the grave. Then I bid them give over babbling about the scriptures, which were holy men's words, whilst they pleaded for unholiness. And at another time another company of professors came, and they also began to plead for sin. And I asked them whether they had hope; and they said yes: God forbid but we should have hope. Then I asked them what hope is it that you have; is Christ in you the hope of your glory? Doth it purify you, as he is pure? But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here. Then I bid them forbear talking of the scriptures, which were the holy men's words. For the holy men, that wrote the scriptures, pleaded for holiness in heart, life, and conversation here; but since you plead for impurity and sin, which is of the devil, what have you to do with the holy men's words?

Now the keeper of the prison, being an high professor, was greatly enraged against me, and spake very wickedly of me: but it pleased the Lord one day to strike him so, that he was in great trouble and under great terrors of mind. And as I was walking in my chamber, I heard a doleful noise; and standing still, I heard him say to his wife: 'Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and alehouses.' After this, towards the evening, he came up into my chamber, and said to me, 'I have been

as a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the gaoler that came to Paul and Silas trembling? And he desired that he might lie with me; I told him, that I was in his power, he might do what he would: but he said nay, he would have my leave, and he could desire to be always with me, but not to have me as a prisoner; and he said he had been plagued, and his house had been plagued for my sake. So I suffered him to lie with me; and then he told me all his heart, and said he believed what I had said of the true faith and hope to be true: and he wondered that the other man that was put into prison with me did not stand to it, and said that man was not right, but I was an honest man. He confessed also to me, that at those times when I had asked him to let me go forth to speak the word of the Lord to the people, and he had refused to let me, and I had laid the weight thereof upon him, that then he used to be under great trouble, amazed and almost distracted for some time after; and in such a condition that he had little strength left him. When the morning came, he arose, and soon after went to the justices, and told them that he and his house had been plagued for my sake: and one of the justices replied (as he reported to me) that the plagues were on them too for keeping me. This was justice Bennet of Derby, who was the first that called us Quakers, because I bid them tremble at the word of the Lord. And this was in the year 1650.

After this the justices gave leave, that I should have liberty to walk a mile. I perceived their end, and I told the gaoler if they would set down to me how far a mile was, I might take the liberty of walking it sometimes; for I had a sense, they thought I would go away. And the gaoler confessed afterwards, that they did it with that intent, to have me go away, to ease them of their plague; but I told him I was not of that spirit.

This gaoler had a sister, who was a sickly young woman, and she came up into my chamber to visit me; and after she had staid some time, and I had spoken the words of truth to her, she went down, and told them that we were an innocent people, and did none any hurt, but did good to all, even to them that hated us; and she desired them to be tender towards me.

Now forasmuch as, by reason of my restraint, I had not the opportunity of travelling about, to declare and spread truth through the countries, it came upon me to write a paper, and send it forth to be spread abroad both amongst friends and other tender people, for the opening of their

understandings in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themselves; and it was as followeth:

‘The Lord doth shew unto man his thoughts, and discovereth all the secret workings in man. A man may be brought to see his evil thoughts, and running mind and vain imaginations, and may strive to keep them down and to keep his mind in, but cannot overcome them, nor keep his mind within to the Lord: now, in this state and condition, submit to the Spirit of the Lord, that shews them, and that will bring to wait upon the Lord; and he that hath discovered them will destroy them. Therefore stand in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ (who is the author of the true faith) and mind him; for he will discover the root of lusts, and evil thoughts, and vain imaginations, and how they are begotten, conceived, and bred; and then how they are brought forth, and how every evil member doth work. He will discover every principle from its own nature and root.

‘So mind the faith of Christ and the anointing, which is in you to be taught by it, which will discover all workings in you; and as he teacheth you, so obey and forsake, else you will not grow up in the faith, nor in the life of Christ, where the love of God is received. Now love begetteth love, its own nature and image: and when mercy and truth do meet, what joy there is! and mercy doth triumph in judgment; and love and mercy doth bear the judgment of the world in patience. That which cannot bear the world’s judgment, is not the love of God; for love beareth all things, and is above the world’s judgment; for the world’s judgment is but foolishness. And though it be the world’s judgment and practice to cast all the world’s filthiness that is among themselves upon the saints, yet their judgment is false. Now the chaste virgins follow Christ, the lamb that takes away the sins of the world; but they that are of that spirit which is not chaste, will not follow Christ the lamb in his steps, but are disobedient to him in his commands. So the fleshly mind doth mind the flesh, and talketh fleshly, and its knowledge is fleshly and not spiritual, but savours of death and not of the spirit of life. Now some men have the nature of swine wallowing in the mire; and some men have the nature of dogs to bite both the sheep and one another; and some men have the nature of lions, to tear, devour, and destroy; and some men have the nature of wolves, to tear and devour the lambs and sheep of Christ; and some men have

the nature of the serpent (that old adversary) to sting, envenom, and poison; "He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear," and learn these things within himself. And some men have the natures of other beasts and creatures, minding nothing but earthly and visible things, and feeding without the fear of God. Some men have the nature of an horse, to prance and vapour in their strength, and to be swift in doing evil; and some men have the nature of tall sturdy oaks, to flourish and spread in wisdom and strength; who are strong in evil, which must perish and come to the fire. Thus the evil is but one in all, but worketh many ways, and whatsoever a man's or woman's nature is addicted to that is outward, the evil one will fit him with that, and will please his nature and appetite, to keep his mind in his inventions and in the creatures from the Creator. O therefore let not the mind go forth from God, for if it do it will be stained, and venommed, and corrupted; and if the mind go forth from the Lord, it is hard to bring it in again: therefore take heed of the enemy, and keep in the faith of Christ. O! therefore mind that which is eternal and invisible, and him who is the Creator and Mover of all things; for the things that are made are not made of things that do appear; for the visible covereth the invisible sight in you. But as the Lord, who is invisible, doth open you by his invisible power and spirit, and brings down the carnal mind in you, so the invisible and immortal things are brought to light in you. O therefore you, that know the light, walk in the light! For there are children of darkness, that will talk of the light and of the truth, and not walk in it; but the children of the light love the light, and walk in the light; but the children of darkness walk in darkness, and hate the light, and in them the earthly lusts, and the carnal mind choke the seed of faith, and that bringeth oppression on the seed, and death over them. O therefore mind the pure Spirit of the everlasting God, which will teach you to use the creatures in their right place, and which judgeth evil. To thee, O God, be all glory and honour, who art Lord of all visibles and invisibles! To thee be all praise, who bringest out of the deep to thyself; O powerful God, who art worthy of all glory! For the Lord, who created all, and gives life and strength to all, is over all, and merciful to all. So thou, who hast made all, and art over all, to thee be all glory! In thee is my strength, refreshments and life, my joy and my gladness, my rejoicing and glorying for evermore! So to live and walk in the Spirit of God, is joy, and peace, and life;

but the mind going forth into the creatures, or into any visible things from the Lord, this bringeth death. Now when the mind is got into the flesh and into death, then the accuser gets within, and the law of sin and death that gets into the flesh, and then the life suffers under the law of sin and death; and then there is straightness and failings. For then the good is shut up, and then the self-righteousness is set a top, and then man doth work in the outward law, and he cannot justify himself by the law, but is condemned by the light; for he cannot get out of that state, but by abiding in the light, and resting in the mercy of God and believing in him, from whom all mercy doth flow; for there is peace in resting in the Lord Jesus. This is the narrow way that leads to him, the life, but few will abide in it; therefore keep in the innocency, and be obedient to the faith in him; and take heed of conforming to the world, and of reasoning with flesh and blood, for that bringeth disobedience; and then imaginations and questionings do arise, to draw from obedience to the truth of Christ. But the obedience of faith destroyeth imaginations, and questionings, and all the temptations in the flesh, and buffetings, and lookings forth, and fetching up things that are past; but not keeping in the life and light, and not crossing the corrupt will by the power of God, the evil nature grows up in man, and then burdens will come, and man will be stained with that nature. But Esau's mountain shall be laid waste and become a wilderness, where the dragons lie: but jacob, the second-birth, shall be fruitful, and shall arise. For Esau is hated, and must not be Lord: but Jacob, the second birth, which is perfect and plain, shall be Lord, for he is beloved of God.' G. F.

I wrote another paper also, much about the same time, and sent it forth amongst the convinced people, as followeth:

'The Lord is King over all the earth! Therefore all people, praise and glorify your King in the true obedience, in the uprightness and in the beauty of holiness. O consider, in the true obedience the Lord is known, and an understanding from him is received. Mark and consider in silence, in the lowliness of mind, and thou wilt hear the Lord speak unto thee in thy mind: his voice is sweet and pleasant; his sheep hear his voice, and they will not hearken to another: and when they hear his voice, they rejoice and are obedient, they also sing for joy. Oh, their

hearts are filled with everlasting triumph! They sing, and praise the eternal God in Sion: their joy shall never man take from them. Glory to the Lord God for evermore!

But many, that had been convinced of the truth, turned aside, because of the persecution that arose: whereupon I wrote a few lines for the comfort and encouragement of the faithful, thus:

‘Come ye blessed of the Lord and rejoice together! keep in unity and oneness of spirit; triumph above the world! be joyful in the Lord, reigning above the world, and above all things that draw from the Lord, that in clearness, righteousness, pureness, and joy, you may be preserved to the Lord. O hear, O hearken to the call of the Lord, and come out of the world, and keep out of it for evermore! And come, sing together, ye righteous ones, the song of the Lord, the song of the Lamb; which none can learn, but they, who are redeemed from the earth and from the world.’

Now while I was in the house of correction my relations came to see me; and being troubled for my imprisonment, they went to the justices that cast me into prison, and desired to have me home with them, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others of Derby in fifty pounds a piece with them, that I should come no more thither to declare against the priests. So I was had up before the justices; and because I would not consent, that they, or any should be bound for me (for I was innocent from any ill behaviour, and had spoken the word of life and truth unto them,) justice Bennet rose up in a rage; and as I was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, he ran upon me, and struck me with both his hands, crying, ‘Away with him, gaoler; take him away, gaoler.’ Whereupon I was had back again to prison, and there kept, until the time of my commitment for six months was expired. But I had now the liberty of walking a mile by myself, which I made use of, as I felt freedom: and sometimes I went into the market, and streets, and warned the people to repent of their wickedness; and so returned to prison again. And there being persons of several sorts of religion in the prison, I sometimes went and visited them in their meetings on the first-days.

After I had been before the justices, and they had required sureties for my good behaviour (which I could not consent should be given, to blemish my innocency), it

came upon me to write to the justices again; which I did as followeth:

‘ Friends,

‘ See what it is in you that doth imprison; and see, who is head in you; and see, if something do not accuse you? Consider, you must be brought to judgment. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; the one fared sumptuously every day, the other a beggar; and now you have time, prize it, while you have it. Would you have me to be bound to my good behaviour? I am bound to my good behaviour; and do cry for good behaviour of all people, to turn from the vanities, pleasures and oppression, and from the deceits of this world, and there will come a time that you shall know it. Therefore take heed of pleasures, and deceits, and pride, and look not at man, but at the Lord: for look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye saved, saith the Lord.’

Some little time after I wrote to them again, thus:

‘ Friends,

‘ Would you have me to be bound to my good behaviour from drunkenness, or swearing, or fighting, or adultery, and the like? The Lord hath redeemed me from all these things, and the love of God hath brought me to loath all wantonness, blessed be his name. They who are drunkards, and fighters, and swearers, have their liberty without bonds; and you lay your law upon me, whom neither you, nor any other can justly accuse of these things; praised be the Lord! I can look at no man for my liberty, but at the Lord alone, who hath all men’s hearts in his hand.’

And after some time, not finding my spirit clear of them, I wrote to them again, as followeth:

‘ Friends,

‘ Had you known who sent me to you, ye would have received me: for the Lord sent me to you, to warn you of the woes that are coming upon you, and to bid you look at the Lord, and not at man. But when I told you my experience, what the Lord had done for me, then your hearts were hardened, and you sent me to prison, where you have kept me many weeks. If the love of God had broke your hearts, then would ye see what ye have done; ye would not have imprisoned me, had not my Father suffered you, and by his power I shall be loosed; for he

openeth and shutteth; to him be all glory! In what have I misbehaved myself, that any should be bound for me? All men's words will do me no good, nor their bonds neither, to keep my heart, if I have not a guide within, to keep me in the upright life to God. But I believe in the Lord, that through his strength and power I shall be preserved from ungodliness and worldly lusts. The Scripture saith, receive strangers, but you imprison such. As you are in authority, take heed of oppression and oaths, and injustice and gifts, or rewards, for God doth loath all such. But love mercy, and true judgment and justice, for that the Lord delights in. I do not write with hatred to you; but to keep my conscience clear: take heed, how you spend your time.'

I was moved also to write again to the priests of Derby, which I did after this manner:

'Friends,
'You do profess to be the ministers of Jesus Christ in words, but you shew forth by your fruits what your ministry is. Every tree doth shew forth its fruit: the ministry of Jesus Christ is in mercy and love, to unloose them that be bound, and to bring out of bondage, and to let them that are captivated, go free. Now friends, where is your example (if the scriptures be your rule) to imprison for religion? Have you any command for it from Christ? If that were in you which you do profess, you would walk in their steps, who spake forth those words, the scriptures, which you do profess. But he is not a Jew who is one outward, whose praise is of men; but he is a Jew who is one inward, whose praise is of God. But if you do build upon the prophets and apostles in words, and pervert their life, remember the woes which Jesus Christ spake against such. They that spake the prophets' words, but denied Christ, they professed a Christ to come; but had they known him, they would not have crucified him. The saints, whom the love of God did change, were brought thereby to walk in love and mercy; for he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God. But where envy, pride, and hatred doth rule, the nature of the world doth rule, and not the nature of Jesus Christ. I write with no hatred to you; but that you may weigh yourselves, and see how you pass on your time.'

Thus having cleared my conscience to the priests, it was

not long before a concern came upon me again, to write again to the justices, which I did as followeth :

‘ I am moved to warn you to take heed of giving way to your own wills. Love the cross, and satisfy not your own minds in the flesh ; but prize your time while you have it, and walk up to that you know, in obedience to God ; and then you shall not be condemned for that you know not ; but for that you do know, and do not obey. Consider betimes, and weigh yourselves, and see where you are, and whom you serve. For if ye blaspheme God, and take his name in vain ; if ye swear and lie ; if ye give way to envy, hatred, covetousness and greediness, pleasures and wantonness, or any other vices, be assured then that ye do serve the devil. But if ye fear the Lord, and serve him, ye will loathe all these things. He that loveth God, will not blaspheme his name : but where there is opposing of God, and serving the devil, that profession is sad and miserable. O prize your time, and do not love that which God doth forbid ; lying, wrath, malice, envy, hatred, greediness, covetousness, oppression, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, and all unrighteousness God doth forbid. So consider, and be not deceived ; “ Evil communication corrupts good manners.” Be not deceived, God will not be mocked with vain words ; the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness. Therefore obey that which doth convince you of all evil, and telleth you that you should do no evil : it will lead to repentance, and keep you in the fear of the Lord. O look at the mercies of God, and prize them, and do not turn them into wantonness. O eye the Lord, and not earthly things ! ’

Besides this, I wrote the following to colonel Barton, who was both a justice and a preacher, as was hinted before.

‘ Friend,
‘ Do not cloak and cover thyself ; there is a God, who knoweth thy heart, and will uncover thee ; he seeth thy way. “ Wo be to him that covereth, and not with my spirit,” saith the Lord. Dost thou do contrary to the law, and then put it from thee ? Mercy and true judgment thou neglectest ; look what was spoken against such. My Saviour said to such, “ I was sick and in prison, and ye visited me not ; I was hungry, and ye fed me not ; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in.” And when they said, “ When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee,” &c. he replied, “ Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these

little ones, ye did it not to me." Friend, thou hast imprisoned me for bearing witness to the life and power of truth, and yet professest to be a minister of Christ: but if Christ had sent thee, thou wouldest bring out of prison, and out of bondage, and wouldest receive strangers. Thou hast been wanton upon earth, thou hast lived plenteously, and nourished thy heart, as in a day of slaughter: thou hast killed the just. O look where thou art, and how thou hast spent thy time! O remember thyself, and now, whilst thou hast time, prize it; and do not slight the free mercy of God, and despise the long suffering of God, which is great salvation: but mind that in thee which doth convince thee, and would not let thee swear, nor lie, nor take God's name in vain. Thou knowest thou shouldest do none of these things; thou hast learned that which will condemn thee; therefore obey the light, which doth convince thee, and forsake thy sins, and look at the mercies of God; and prize his love in sparing thee till now. The Lord saith, "Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye saved; and cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils." And friend, prize thy time, and see whom thou servest: for his servant thou art, whom thou dost obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness. If thou servest God, and fearest him, thou wilt not blaspheme his name, nor curse, nor swear, nor take his name in vain, nor follow pleasures and wantonness, whoredom and drunkenness, or wrath, or malice, or revenge, or rashness, or headiness, pride or gluttony, greediness, oppression or covetousness, or foolish jestings, or vain songs; God doth forbid these things, and all unrighteousness. If thou professest God, and actest any of these things, thou takest him for a cloak, and servest the devil. Consider with thyself, and do not love that which God doth hate. He that loveth God, keepeth his commandments. The devil will tell thee, it is an hard thing to keep God's commandments; but it is an easy thing to keep the devil's commandments, and to live in all unrighteousness and ungodliness, turning the grace of God into wantonness. But let the unrighteous man forsake his ways, and turn unto me, saith the Lord, and I will have mercy. "Turn ye, why will ye die?" saith the Lord.

'Howl, ye great ones, for the plagues are pouring out upon you! Howl, ye oppressors, for recompence and vengeance is coming upon you! Wo unto them that covetously join one house to another; and bring one field so nigh unto another, that the poor can get no more ground, and that ye may dwell upon the earth alone: these things are

in the ears of the Lord of hosts. Wo unto him that covetously getteth evil-gotten goods into his house, that he may set his nest on high, to escape from the power of evil.'

While I was yet in the house of correction, there came unto me a trooper, and said, as he was sitting in the steeple-house, hearing the priest, exceeding great trouble came upon him; and the voice of the Lord came to him saying, 'Dost thou not know that my servant is in prison? Go to him for direction.' So I spake to his condition, and his understanding was opened. And I told him, that which shewed him his sins, and troubled him for them, would shew him his salvation; for he that shews a man his sin, is the same that takes it away. Now, while I was speaking to him, the Lord's power opened him, so that he began to have a good understanding in the Lord's truth, and to be sensible of God's mercies; and began to speak boldly in his quarters amongst the soldiers, and to others, concerning truth (for the scriptures were very much opened to him,) insomuch that he said, his colonel was as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to cast the servant of the Lord into prison. Upon this his colonel had a spite at him; and at Worcester fight, the year after, when the two armies lying near one another, two came out from the king's army, and challenged any two of the parliament army to fight with them; his colonel made choice of him and another to answer the challenge. And when in the encounter his companion was slain, he drave both his enemies within musket-shot of the town, without firing a pistol at them: this, when he returned, he told me with his own mouth. But when the fight was over, he saw the deceit and hypocrisy of the officers; and being sensible how wonderfully the Lord had preserved him, and seeing also to the end of fighting, he laid down his arms.

Now the time of my commitment to the house of correction being very near out, and there being many new soldiers raised, the commissioners would have made me captain over them; and the soldiers cried, they would have none but me. So the keeper of the house of correction was commanded to bring me up before the commissioners and soldiers in the market place; and there they proffered me that preferment (as they called it) asking me if I would not take up arms for the Commonwealth against Charles Stuart; I told them, I knew from whence all wars did arise, even from the lust, according to James's doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power, that took away the occasion of all wars. But they

courted me to accept of their offer, and thought I did but compliment with them. But I told them, I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes were. They said, they offered it in love and kindness to me, because of my virtue; and such like flattering words they used. But I told them, if that was their love and kindness, I trampled it under my feet. Then their rage got up, and they said, 'Take him away, gaoler, and put him into the dungeon amongst the rogues and felons:' So I was had away and put into a lousy, stinking place, without any bed, amongst thirty felons, where I was kept almost half a year, unless it were at times; for they would sometimes let me walk in the garden, having a belief of me that I would not go away. Now when they had gotten me into Derby dungeon, it was the belief and saying of people that I should never come out; but I had faith in God, and believed I should be delivered in his time; for the Lord had said to me before, that I was not to be removed from that place yet, being set there for a service which he had for me to do.

After it was bruited abroad that I was in Derby dungeon, my relations came to see me again; and they were much troubled that I should be in prison; for they looked upon it to be a great shame to them for me to be imprisoned for religion; and some thought I was mad, because I stood for purity, and righteousness, and perfection.

Among others that came to see me, and discourse with me, there came a certain person from Nottingham, a soldier, and that had been a baptist (as I understood) and with him came several others. And in discourse this person said to me, 'Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem, and there was never any such thing.' I was exceedingly grieved to hear him say so; and I said to him, 'How! did not Christ suffer without the gates of Jerusalem through the professing Jews, and chief priests, and Pilate?' And he denied that ever Christ suffered there outwardly. Then I asked him, whether there were not chief priests, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly? and when he could not deny that, then I told him, as certainly as there was a chief priest, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly, so certainly was Christ persecuted by them, and did suffer there outwardly under them. Yet from this man's words was a slander raised upon us, that the Quakers should deny Christ, that suffered and died at Jerusalem; which was all utterly false, and the least thought of it never entered our hearts; but it was a mere slander cast upon us, and occasioned by this person's words.

The same person also said, that never any of the prophets, nor apostles, nor holy men of God suffered any thing outwardly; but all their sufferings were inward. But I instanced to him many of the prophets and apostles, how they suffered, and by whom they suffered: and so was the power of the Lord brought over his wicked imaginations and whimsies.

There came also another company to me, that pretended they were triers of spirits; and I asked them, what was the first step to peace, and what it was by which a man might see his salvation; and they were presently up in the airy mind, and said I was mad. Thus they came to try spirits, who did not know themselves, nor their own spirits.

In this time of my imprisonment, I was exceedingly exercised about the proceedings of the judges and magistrates in their courts of judicature. And I was moved to write to the judges, concerning their putting men to death for cattle, and money, and small matters; and to shew them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time; for I was under great suffering in my spirit because of it, and under the very sense of death; but standing in the will of God, an heavenly breathing arose in my soul to the Lord. Then did I see the heavens opened, and I rejoiced, and gave glory to God. So I wrote to the judges as followeth:

‘I am moved to write unto you to take heed of putting men to death for stealing cattle or money, &c.; for the thieves in the old time were to make restitution, and if they had not wherewith, they were to be sold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the scriptures, and the Spirit that gave them forth, and let them be your rule in executing judgment; and shew mercy, that you may receive mercy from God, the judge of all. And take heed of gifts and rewards, and of pride, for God doth forbid them, and they do blind the eyes of the wise. I do not write to give liberty to sin; God hath forbidden it: but that you should judge according to his laws, and shew mercy: for he delighteth in true judgment, and in mercy. I beseech you to mind these things, and prize your time, now you have it; and fear God, and serve him, for he is a consuming fire.’

Beside this, I wrote another letter to the judges, to this effect:

‘ I am moved to write unto you that ye do true justice to every man, and see that none be oppressed, nor wronged; nor no oaths imposed; for the land mourneth because of oaths, and adulteries, and sorceries, and drunkenness, and profaneness. O consider, ye that be men set in authority: be moderate, and in lowliness consider these things. Shew mercy to the fatherless, and to the widows, and to the poor; and take heed of rewards or gifts, for they do blind the eyes of the wise; the Lord doth loath all such. Love mercy and true judgment, justice and righteousness, for the Lord delighteth in such. Consider these things in time, and take heed how ye do spend your time. Now ye have time, prize it; and shew mercy, that ye may receive mercy from the Lord; for he is coming to try all things, and will plead with all flesh, as by fire.’

Moreover, I laid before the judges what an hurtful thing it was that prisoners should lie so long in jail, shewing how that they learned badness one of another in talking of their bad deeds: and therefore speedy justice should be done. For I was a tender youth, and dwelt in the fear of God, and I was grieved to hear their bad language, and was often made to reprove them for their wicked words and evil carriage towards each other: and people did admire that I was so preserved and kept, for they could never catch a word or action from me to make any thing of against me all the time that I was there; for the Lord’s infinite power upheld and preserved me all that time; to him be praises and glory for ever!

Now, while I was here in prison, there was a young woman in the jail for robbing her master of some money; and when she was to be tried for her life, I wrote to the judge and to the jury about her, shewing them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time to put people to death for stealing, and moving them to shew mercy: yet she was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her; and at the time appointed she was carried forth to execution. Then I wrote a few words, warning all people to beware of greediness or covetousness, for it leads from God, but that all should fear the Lord, and avoid all earthly lusts, and prize their time while they have it: this I gave to be read at the gallows: and though they had her upon the ladder with a cloth bound over her face ready to be turned off, yet they did not put her to death, but brought her back again to prison: and in the prison she afterwards came to be convinced of God’s everlasting truth.

There was also in the jail while I was there, a prisoner, a wicked, ungodly man, who was reputed a conjurer; and he threatened how he would talk with me, and what he would do to me; but he never had power to open his mouth to me. And on a time the jailer and he falling out, he threatened the jailer that he would raise the devil, and break his house down, so that he made the jailer afraid. Then I was moved of the Lord to go in his power and rebuke him in it, and say unto him, Come, let us see what thou canst do, and do thy worst: and I told him, the devil was raised high enough in him already, but the power of God chained him down: so he slunk away and went from me.

Now the time of Worcester fight coming on, justice Bennet sent the constables to press me for a soldier, seeing I would not voluntarily accept of a command: and I told them, that I was brought off from outward wars. They came down again to give me press-money, but I would take none. Then I was brought up to serjeant Holes, and kept there awhile, and then I was taken down again. Then after awhile the constables fetched me up again, and then I was brought before the commissioners, and they said I should go for a soldier; but I told them I was dead to it. They said I was alive; I told them, where envy and hatred is, there is confusion. They proffered me money twice, but I would not take it: then they were wroth, and I was committed close prisoner, without bail or mainprize. Whereupon I wrote to them again, directing my letter to colonel Barton (who was a preacher) and the rest that were concerned in my commitment: and I wrote thus:

‘ You who are without Christ, and yet use the words which he and his saints have spoken, consider, neither he nor his apostles did ever imprison any; but my Saviour is merciful even to the unmerciful and rebellious. He doth bring out of prison and bondage; but men, while the carnal mind doth rule, do oppress and imprison. My Saviour saith, “ Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you; ” for the love of God doth not persecute any, but loveth all where it dwelleth; “ He that hateth his brother is a murderer. ” You profess to be Christians, and one of you a minister of Jesus Christ; yet you have imprisoned me, who am a servant of Jesus Christ. The apostles never imprisoned any, but were imprisoned themselves: take heed of speaking of Christ in words and denying him in life and power. O friends, the imprison-

ing my body is to satisfy your wills; but take heed of giving way to your wills, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had broken your hearts ye would not have imprisoned me; but my love is to you, as to all my fellow-creatures; and that you may weigh yourselves and see how you stand, is this written.'

About this time I was moved to give forth the following lines, to go amongst the convinced and tender people, to manifest the deceits of the world, and how the priests have deceived the people:

To all you that love the Lord Jesus Christ with a pure and naked heart, and the generation of the righteous.

'Christ was ever hated, and the righteous for his sake. Mind who they were that did ever hate them: he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the spirit; and so it is now. And mind who were the chiefest against Christ; even the great learned men, the heads of the people, rulers and teachers, that did profess the law and the prophets, and looked for Christ. They looked for an outwardly glorious Christ to hold up their outward glory; but Christ spake against the works of the world, and against the priests, and scribes, and pharisees, and their hypocritical profession. He that is a stranger to Christ is an hireling; but the servants of Jesus Christ are free men. The false teachers always laid burdens upon the people; and the true servants of the Lord did speak against them. Jeremiah did speak against hirelings, and said it was an horrible thing; and said, What will ye do in the end; for the people and priests were given to covetousness. Paul did speak against such as did make gain upon the people; and exhorted the saints to turn away from such as were covetous men and proud men, such as did love pleasures more than God, such as had a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof; for of this sort, said he, are they that creep into houses, and lead captive silly women, who are ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith; and as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so, said he, do these resist the truth; but they shall proceed no further, for their folly shall be made manifest unto all men. Moses forsook honours and pleasures which he might have enjoyed. The apostle in his time saw this corruption entering which now is spread over the world, of having a form of godliness,

but denying the power. Ask any of your teachers whether you may ever overcome your corruptions or sins; none of them doth believe that; but as long as man is here, he must, they say, carry about with him the body of sin. Thus pride is kept up, and that honour and mastership, which Christ denied, and all unrighteousness; yet multitudes of teachers; heaps of teachers; the golden cup full of abominations! Paul did not preach for wages, but laboured with his hands that he might be an example to all them that follow him. O people, see who follow Paul! the prophet Jeremiah said, "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means;" but now the priests bear rule by the means they get from the people; take away their means and they will bear rule over you no longer. They are such as the apostle said intruded into those things which they never saw, being vainly puffed up with a fleshly mind, and, as the scriptures declare of some of old, "They go in the way of Cain, (who was a murderer) and in the way of Balaam, who coveted the wages of unrighteousness." The prophet Micah also cried against the judges that judged for reward, and the priests that taught for hire, and the prophets that prophesied for money, and yet leaned on the Lord, saying, "Is not the Lord amongst us?" Gifts do blind the eyes of the wise; and the gift of God was never purchased with money. All the holy servants of God did ever cry against deceit: and where the Lord hath manifested his love, they do loath it, and that nature which holdeth it up.

Again a concern came upon me to write unto the magistrates of Derby, which I did as followeth:

' Friends,

' I desire you to consider in time whom ye do imprison; for the magistrate is set for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. But when the Lord doth send his messengers unto you to warn you of the woes that will come upon you, except you repent, then you persecute them, and put them into prison, and say, we have a law, and by our law we may do it. For you indeed justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts; he will not be worshipped with your forms and professions, and shews of religion: therefore consider, ye that talk of God, how ye are subject to him; for they are his children that do his will. What doth the Lord require of you but to do justice, to love and shew mercy, to walk humbly with him, and to help the widows and fatherless to their right; but instead thereof ye oppress

the poor. Do not your judges judge for rewards, and your priests teach for hire? The time is coming that he who seeth all things will discover all your secrets: and know this assuredly, the Lord will deliver his servants out of your hands, and he will recompence all your unjust dealings towards his people. I desire you to consider of these things, and search the scriptures, and see whether any of the people of God did ever imprison any for religion, but were themselves imprisoned. I desire you to consider how it is written, that when the church is met together, they may all prophesy one by one, that all may hear, and all may learn, and all may be comforted; and then if any thing be revealed to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. Thus it was in the true church; and thus it ought to be now. But it is not so in your assemblies; but he that teaches for hire may speak, and none may contradict him. Again, consider the liberty that was given to the apostles, even among the unbelieving Jews; when after the reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of the synagogue said unto them, 'Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.' I desire you to consider in stillness, and strive not against the Lord, for he is stronger than you. Though ye hold his people fast for a time, yet when he cometh he will make known who are his; for his coming is like the refiner's fire and like fuller's soap. Then the stone that is set at nought of you builders shall be the head-stone of the corner. O friends, lay these things to heart, and let them not seem light things to you; I write unto you in love, to mind the laws of God and your own souls, and do as the holy men of God did.'

Great was the exercise and travel in spirit that I went under during my imprisonment here because of the wickedness that was in this town; for though there were some convinced there, yet for the generality they were an hardened people; and I saw the visitation of God's love pass away from them; and I mourned over them. And it came upon me to give forth the following lines, as a lamentation for them:

'O Derby! as the waters run away when the flood-gates are up, so doth the visitation of God's love pass away from thee, O Derby! therefore look where thou art, and how thou art grounded, and consider before thou art utterly forsaken. The Lord moved me twice before I came to cry against the deceits and vanities that are in thee, and to warn all to look at the Lord, and not at man. The woe is

against the crown of pride, and the woe is against drunkenness and vain pleasures, and against them that make a profession of religion in words, and are high and lofty in mind, and live in oppression and envy. O Derby! thy profession and preaching stinks before the Lord. Ye do profess a sabbath in words, and meet together, dressing yourselves in fine apparel, and you uphold pride. Thy women go with stretched-forth necks and wanton eyes, &c. which the true prophet of old cried against. Your assemblies are odious, and an abomination to the Lord: pride is set up, and bowed down to; covetousness abounds; and he that doth wickedly is honoured: so deceit doth bear with deceit; and yet they profess Christ in words. O the deceit that is within thee! it doth even break my heart to see how God is dishonoured in thee, O Derby.'

Now, after that I had seen the visitation of God's love pass away from this place, I knew that my imprisonment here would not continue long; but I saw that when the Lord should bring me forth it would be as the letting of a lion out of a den amongst the wild beasts of the forest. For all professions stood in a beastly spirit and nature, pleading for sin, and for the body of sin and imperfection, as long as they lived: and they all kicked, and yelled, and roared, and raged, and ran against the life and spirit which gave forth the scriptures, which they professed in words. And so it was, as will appear hereafter.

There was a great judgment upon the town, and the magistrates were uneasy about me, and could not agree what to do with me. One while they would have me sent up to the parliament, another while they would have banished me to Ireland. At first they called me a deceiver, and a seducer, and a blasphemer: afterwards, when God had brought his plagues upon them, then they said I was an honest, virtuous man. But their good report and bad report, their well speaking or their ill speaking, was nothing to me; for the one did not lift me up, nor the other cast me down: praised be the Lord. At length they were made to turn me out of jail, about the beginning of winter in the year 1651, after I had been a prisoner in Derby almost a year, whereof six months in the house of correction, and the rest of the time in the common jail and dungeon.

Thus being set at liberty again, I went on (as before) in the work of the Lord, passing through the country, first into my own country of Leicestershire, and had meetings as I went, and the Lord's spirit and power accompanied

me. Afterwards I went near to Burton-upon-Trent, where some were convinced, and so to Bushel House, where I had a meeting; and I went up into the country, where there were friendly people, but there was an outrageous wicked professor, who had an intent to have done me a mischief, but the Lord prevented him. Blessed be the Lord.

And as I was walking along with several friends, I lifted up my head, and I saw three steeple-house spires, and they struck at my life; and I asked friends what place that was, and they said Litchfield; immediately the word of the Lord came to me, that I must go thither. So being come to the house we were going to, I wished friends that were with me to walk into the house, saying nothing to them whither I was to go; and as soon as they were gone, I stepped away, and went by my eye over hedge and ditch, till I came within a mile of Litchfield, where, in a great field, there were shepherds keeping their sheep. Then I was commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes; and I stood still (for it was winter); and the word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes, and left them with the shepherds, and the poor shepherds trembled and were astonished. Then I walked on about a mile till I came into the city, and as soon as I was got within the city, the word of the Lord came to me again, saying, 'Cry, Woe unto the bloody city of Litchfield.' So I went up and down the streets, crying with a loud voice, 'Woe to the bloody city of Litchfield!' And it being market day, I went into the market place, and to and fro in the several parts of it, and made stands, crying as before, 'Woe to the bloody city of Litchfield!' And no one laid hands on me; but as I went thus crying through the streets, there seemed to me to be a channel of blood running down the streets, and the market place appeared like a pool of blood. Now when I had declared what was upon me, and felt myself clear, I went out of the town in peace, and returning to the shepherds, gave them some money, and took my shoes of them again. But the fire of the Lord was so in my feet, and all over me, that I did not matter to put on my shoes any more, and was at a stand whether I should or no, till I felt freedom from the Lord so to do; and then, after I had washed my feet, I put on my shoes again. After this a deep consideration came upon me, why, or for what reason, I should be sent to cry against that city, and call it the bloody city. For though the parliament had the minster one while and the king another while, and much blood had been shed in the town during the wars

between them, yet that was no more than had befallen many other places. But afterwards I came to understand that in the emperor Diocletian's time, a thousand Christians were martyred in Litchfield. So I was to go, without my shoes, through the channel of their blood, and into the pool of their blood in the market place, that I might raise up the memorial of the blood of those martyrs which had been shed above a thousand years before, and lay cold in their streets. So the sense of this blood was upon me, and I obeyed the word of the Lord. Ancient records testify how many of the Christian Britons suffered there; and much I could write of the sense I had of the blood of the martyrs that hath been shed in this nation, for the name of Christ, both under the ten persecutions and since; but I leave it to the Lord, and to his book, out of which all shall be judged: for his book is a most certain, true record, and his spirit a true recorder.

Then passed I up and down through the countries, having meetings amongst friendly people in many places: but my relations were offended at me. So after some time I came into Nottinghamshire again, and to Mansfield, and went into Derbyshire, visiting friends. Then passing into Yorkshire, I preached repentance through Doncaster and several other places, and after came to Balby, where Richard Farnsworth and several others were convinced. So travelling through the countries to several places, preaching repentance and the word of life to the people, I came into the parts about Wakefield, where James Naylor lived, and he and Thomas Goodyear came to me, and were both convinced, and received the truth. William Dewsbury also and his wife, with many more, came to me, who were convinced, and received the truth. From thence I passed through the country towards Captain Pursloe's house in Selby, and visited one John Leek, who had been to visit me in Derby prison, and was convinced. I had an horse, but was fain to leave him, not knowing what to do with him: for I was moved to go to many great houses, to admonish and exhort the people to turn to the Lord. Thus passing on, I was moved of the Lord to go to Beverly steeple-house, which was then a place of high profession; and being very wet with rain, I went first to an inn, and as soon as I came to the door, a young woman of the house came to the door, and said, 'What, is it you; come in,' said she, as if she had known me before, for the Lord's power bowed their hearts. So I refreshed myself and went to bed, and in the morning (my clothes being still wet) I got ready, and having paid for what I

had had in the inn, I went up to the steeple-house, where was a man preaching; and when he had done I was moved to speak to him, and to the people, in the mighty power of God, and turned them to their teacher Christ Jesus: and the power of the Lord was so strong that it struck a mighty dread amongst the people. And the mayor came down to me, and spake a few words to me, but none of them had any power to meddle with me; so I passed away out of the town, and in the afternoon went to another steeple-house about two miles off, and when the priest had done I was moved to speak with him, and to the people very largely, shewing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The priest said he was but a child, and could not dispute with me; I told him I did not come to dispute, but to hold forth the word of life and truth unto them, that they might all know the one Seed, which the promise of God was to, both in the male and in the female. Here the people were very loving, and would have had me come again on a week-day and preach among them; but I directed them to their teacher Christ Jesus, and so passed away; and the next day went to Crantsick, to captain Pursloe's, who accompanied me to justice Hotham's. This justice Hotham was a pretty tender man, one that had had some experience of God's workings in his heart. After I had had some discourse with him of the things of God, he took me into his closet, where, sitting together, he told me he had known that principle these ten years, and was glad that the Lord did now publish it abroad to the people. After awhile there came a priest to visit him, with whom also I had some discourse concerning truth. But his mouth was quickly stopped, for he was nothing but a notionist, and not in possession of what he talked of.

While I was here, there came a great woman of Beverly, to speak to justice Hotham about some business; and in discourse she told him, that the last sabbath day (as she called it) there was an angel or spirit came into the church at Beverly, and spake the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there; and when it had done it passed away, and they did not know whence it came nor whither it went; but it astonished all, both priest, professors and magistrates of the town. This relation justice Hotham gave me afterwards, and then I gave him an account how I had been that day at Beverly steeple-house, and had declared truth to the priest and people there.

There were in the county thereabouts some noted priests

and doctors, that justice Hotham had acquaintance with, and he would fain have them speak with me, and offered to send for them, under pretence of some business he had with them, but I wished him not to do so.

Now when the first-day of the week was come, justice Hotham walked out with me into the fields, and then captain Pursloe coming up after us, justice Hotham left us and returned home, but captain Pursloe went with me into the steeple-house; and when the priest had done, I spake both to priest and people, and declared to them the word of life and truth, and directed them where they might find their teacher the Lord Jesus Christ. Some of the people were convinced there that day, and received the truth, and stand fast in it, and have a fine meeting thereaways to this day.

In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house about three miles off, where preached a great high-priest called a doctor (being one of them whom justice Hotham would have sent for to have spoken with me). So I went into the steeple-house, and staid till the priest had done (now the words which he took for his text were these, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.") Then was I moved of the Lord God to say unto him, 'Come down, thou deceiver; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them, for preaching the Scriptures to them. Mayest thou not blush for shame? Did the prophet Isaiah, and Christ do so, who spake the words, and gave them forth freely? Did not Christ say to his ministers, whom he sent to preach, Freely ye have received, freely give?' So the priest, like a man amazed, hastened away. And after he was gone, and had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire to speak to the people; and I directed them from the darkness to the light, and to the grace of God, that would teach them, and bring them salvation, and to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher unto them.

Then, having cleared myself amongst the people, I returned to justice Hotham's house that night, who when I came in, took me in his arms, and said his house was my house, for he was exceeding glad at the work of the Lord, and that his power was revealed. Then he told me why he went not with me to the steeple-house in the morning, and what reasonings he had in himself about it; for he thought if he had gone with me to the steeple-house, the

officers would have put me to him, and then he should have been so put to it, that he should not have known what to have done. But he was glad, he said, when captain Pursloe came up to go with me; yet neither of them was dressed, nor had their bands about their necks, and it was a strange thing then to see a man come into a steeple-house without a band; yet captain Pursloe went in with me without his band, the Lord's power and truth had so affected him that he minded it not.

From hence I passed on through the country, and came at night to an inn where was a company of rude people, and I bid the woman of the house, if she had any meat, to bring me some; but because I said thee and thou to her, she looked strangely on me. Then I asked her if she had any milk; and she said no. I was sensible she spake falsely, and seeing a churn standing in the room, and being willing to try her further, I asked her if she had any cream; she denied that she had any. Now there stood a churn in the room and a little boy playing about it, put his hands into it and pulled it down, and threw all the cream on the floor before my eyes. Thus was the woman manifested to be a liar. The woman was amazed, and blessed herself, and took up the child and whipped it sorely; but I reprov'd her for her lying and deceit. After the Lord had thus discovered her deceit and perverseness, I walked out of the house and went away till I came to a stack of hay, and lay in the hay-stack that night in rain and snow, it being but three days before the time called Christmas.

The next day I came into York, where were several people that were very tender; and upon the first day of the week following, I was commanded of the Lord to go to the great minster, and speak to priest Bowles and his hearers in their great cathedral. Accordingly I went: and when the priest had done I told them I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. Then say on quickly, said a professor that was among them, for it was frost and snow, and very cold weather. Then I told them, this was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words; but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them. As soon as the words were out of my mouth, they hurried me out, and threw me down the steps; but I got up again without hurt, and went to my lodging again, and several were convinced there: for the very groans that arose from the weight and oppression that was upon the spirit of God in me, would open people, and strike them, and make them confess that the groans which

brake forth through me did reach them; for my life was burthened with their profession without possession, and words without fruit.

Now after I had done my present service in York, and that several were convinced there and received the truth of God and were turned to his teaching, I passed out of York, and looked towards Cleaveland. And I saw there was a people that had tasted of the power of God, and I saw then there was a seed in that country, and that God had an humble people there. So I passed onwards that night; and a papist overtook me and talked to me of his religion, and of their meetings; and I let him speak all that was in his mind. That night I stayed at an ale-house, and the next morning I was moved of the Lord to speak the word of the Lord to this papist. So I went to his house, and declared against his religion, and all their superstitious ways; and I told him, that God was come to teach his people himself. This put the papist into such a rage that he could not then endure to stay in his own house.

The next day I came to Burraby, where there was a priest, and several friendly people met together: many of the people were convinced, and have continued faithful ever since; and there is a great meeting of friends in that town. The priest also was forced to confess to truth, though he came not into it.

The day following I passed to Cleaveland amongst those people that had tasted of the power of God; they had formerly had great meetings, but were then all shattered to pieces, and the heads of them turned ranters. I told them, that after they had had such meetings they did not wait upon God to feel his power, to gather their minds inward, that they might feel his presence and power amongst them in their meetings, to sit down therein and wait upon him; for they had spoken themselves dry; they had spent their portions, and not living in that which they spake of, they were now become dry. They had some kind of meetings still; but they took tobacco, and drank ale in their meetings, and were grown light and loose. But my message unto them from the Lord was, that they should all come together again, and wait to feel the Lord's power and spirit in themselves to gather them to Christ, that they might be taught of him who says, Learn of me. For when they had declared that which the Lord had opened to them, then the people were to receive it, and both the speakers and hearers were to live in that themselves. But when these had no more to declare, but went to seek forms without life, that made themselves dry and barren, and the

people also ; and from thence came all their loss ; for the Lord renews his mercies and his strength to them that wait upon him. The heads of these people came to nothing ; but most of the people came to be convinced, and received God's everlasting truth, and continue a meeting to this day, sitting under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their Saviour.

Upon the first-day of the next week the word of the Lord came to me to go to the steeple-house there, which I did : and when the priest had done, I spake the truth to him and the people, and directed them to their teacher within, Christ Jesus, their free teacher, that had bought them. The priest came to me, and I had a little discourse with him ; but he was soon stopped, and silent. Then, being clear of the place, I passed away, having had several meetings amongst those people.

Though at this time the snow was very deep, yet I kept travelling ; and going through the country, came to a market town, where I met with many professors, with whom I had much reasoning ; and I asked them many questions which they were not able to answer, but said, they had never had such deep questions put to them in all their lives.

From them I went to another place called Stath, where also I met with many professors, and some ranters. I had great meetings amongst them, and a great conviction there was, and many received the truth, amongst whom one was an ancient man of an hundred years of age ; another was a chief constable, and a third was a priest, whose name was Philip Scafe ; him the Lord, by his free spirit, did afterwards make a free minister of his free gospel.

The priest of this town was a lofty priest, and did much oppress the people for his tithes : for if they went a fishing many leagues off he would make them pay the tithe-money of what they made of their fish, though they caught them at a great distance, and carried them as far as Yarmouth to sell. Now I was moved to go to the steeple-house there, to declare the truth, and lay open the priest. And when I had spoken to the priest, and laid his oppressing of the people upon him, he fled away. The chief of the parish were very light and vain ; so after I had spoken the word of life to them, I turned away from them, because they did not receive it, and left them. But the word of the Lord which I had declared amongst them, stuck with some of them ; so that at night some of the heads of the parish came to me, and most of them were convinced and satisfied, and confessed to the truth. Thus the truth

began to spread up and down that country, and great meetings we had; at which the priest began to rage, and the ranters began to be stirred; and they sent me word that they would have a dispute with me, both the oppressing priest, and the leader of the ranters. A day was set, and the ranter came with his company; and another priest, a Scotchman, came, but not the oppressing priest of Stath. Philip Scafe, who had been a priest, and was convinced, was with me; and a great number of people were met. When we were settled, the ranter, whose name was T. Bushel, told me, he had had a vision of me, that I was sitting in a great chair, and that he was to come and put off his hat, and bow down to the ground before me; and he did so: and many other flattering words he spake. I told him, it was his own figure, and said unto him, Repent, thou beast. He said it was jealousy in me to say so. Then I asked him the ground of jealousy, and how it came to be bred in man; and the nature of a beast, what made it; and how that was bred in man; for I saw him directly in that nature of the beast, and therefore I would have known of him how that nature came to be bred in him. I told him he should give me an account of the things done in the body, before we came to discourse of things done out of the body. So I stopped up his mouth that he could say no more; and all his fellow-ranters were silenced; for he was the head of them. Then I called for the oppressing priest, but he came not; only the Scotch priest came, but his mouth was soon stopped with a very few words; he being out of the life of what he did profess. Then had I a good opportunity with the people; and I laid open the ranters, ranking them with the old ranters in Sodom. And the priests I manifested to be of the same stamp with their fellow hirelings, the false prophets of old, and the priests that then bore rule over the people by their means, seeking for their gain from their quarter, divining for money, and teaching for filthy lucre; and so I brought all the prophets, and Christ, and the apostles over the heads of the priests, shewing how the prophets, Christ and the apostles had long since discovered them by their marks and fruits. Then I directed people to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus their Saviour; and I preached up Christ in the hearts of his people, when all these mountains were laid low. The people were all quiet, and the gainsayer's mouths were stopped; for though they broiled inwardly, yet the power bound them down, that they could not break out.

After the meeting was over, this Scottish priest desired

me to walk with him a top of the cliffs; whereupon I called a brother-in-law of his, who was in some measure convinced, and desired him to go with me, telling him I was willing to have somebody by to hear what we said, lest the priest, when I was gone, should report any thing of me which I did not say. So we went together; and as we walked, the priest asked me many things concerning the light, and concerning the soul; to all which I answered him fully. When he had done questioning, we parted, and he went his way; and as he went, meeting with the other priest, Philip Scafe, that was convinced, he brake his cane against the ground in madness, and said, if ever he met with me again he would have my life, or I should have his; adding, that he would give his head if I was not knocked down within a month. By this friends suspected, his intent was in desiring me to walk with him alone, either to have thrust me down from off the cliff, or to have done me some other mischief; and that when he saw himself frustrated in that, by my having one with me, that made him rage so. But I feared neither his prophecies nor his threats, for I feared God Almighty. But some friends, through their affection to me, feared much that this priest would do me some mischief, or set on others to do it. Yet after some years this very Scotch priest, and his wife also, came to be convinced of the truth; and about twelve years after this I was at their house.

After this there came another priest to a meeting where I was (one that was in repute above all the priests in the country), and as I was speaking in the meeting, that the gospel was the power of God, and how it brought life and immortality to light in men, and so was turning people from darkness to the light, this high-flown priest said, the gospel was mortal. I told him, the true minister said the gospel was the power of God, and would he make the power of God mortal. Upon that the other priest, Philip Scafe, that was convinced, and had felt the immortal power of God in himself, took him up and reproved him; and so a great dispute arose between them; the convinced priest holding that the gospel was immortal, and the other priest holding that it was mortal. But the Lord's power was too hard for this opposing priest, and stopped his mouth; and many people were convinced, seeing the darkness that was in the opposing priest, and the light that was in the convinced priest.

Then another priest sent to have a dispute with me, and friends went with me to the house where he was: but when he understood we were come, he slipped out of the

house, and hid himself under an hedge. The people went to seek him, and found him, but could not get him to come to us. Then I went to a steeple-house hard by there, where the priest and people were in a great rage: this priest had threatened friends what he would do; but when I came there he would not stand, but fled, for the Lord's power came over him and them; yea, the Lord's everlasting power was over the world, and did reach to the hearts of people, and made both priests and professors tremble. It shook the earthly and airy spirit, in which they held their profession of religion and worship, so that it was a dreadful thing unto them when it was told them, 'The man in leathern breeches is come.' At the hearing thereof the priests in many places would get out of the way; they were so struck with the dread of the eternal power of God, and fear surprised the hypocrites.

From this place we passed to Whitby and Scarborough, where we had some service for the Lord; and there are large meetings settled there since. From thence I passed over the Wouls to Malton, where we had great meetings; as we had also at the towns thereabouts. At one of those towns there was a priest sent me a challenge to dispute with me; but when I came he would not come forth; so I had a good opportunity with the people, and the Lord's power seized upon them: and one, who had been a wild drunken man, was reached therewith, so that he came to me as lowly as a lamb, though he and his companions had before sent for drink, to make the rude people drunk, on purpose that they might abuse us. So when the priest would not come forth, I was moved to go to the steeple-house there; and the priest was confounded, and the Lord's power came over all.

On the first-day following there came one of the highest independent professors, a woman, who had let in such a prejudice against me, that she said before she came, she could willingly have gone to see me hanged: but when she came she was convinced, and remains a friend.

Then I turned to Malton again, and very great meetings there were, to which several people more would have come, but durst not for fear of their relations; for it was thought a strange thing then to preach in houses, and not go to the church (as they called it), so that I was much desired to go and speak in the steeple-houses. One of the priests wrote to me, and invited me to preach in his steeple-house, calling me his brother. Another priest, a noted man, kept a lecture there. Now the Lord had shewed me, while I was in Derby prison, that I should speak in steeple-houses, to gather people from thence;

and a concern sometimes would come upon my mind about the pulpits that the priests lolled in : for the steeple-houses and pulpits were offensive to my mind, because both priests and people called them the house of God, and idolized them, reckoning that God dwelt there in the outward house ; whereas they should have looked for God and Christ to dwell in their hearts, and their bodies to be made the temples of God ; for the apostle said, " God dwelleth not in temples made with hands : " but by reason of the people's idolizing those places, it was counted an heinous thing to declare against them. Now when I came into the steeple-house, there were not passing eleven hearers, and the priest was preaching to them. But after it was known in the town that I was in the steeple-house, it was soon filled with people. When the priest that preached that day had done, he sent the other priest that had invited me thither, to bring me up into the pulpit ; but I sent back word to him that I needed not to go into the pulpit. Then he sent to me again, desiring me to go up into it, for he said it was a better place, and there I might be seen of the people. I sent him word again, I could be seen and heard well enough where I was, and that I came not there to hold up such places, nor their maintenance and trade. Upon my saying so, they began to be angry, and said, these false prophets were to come in the last times. Their saying so, grieved many of the people ; and some began to murmur at it. Whereupon I stood up, and desired all to be quiet ; and stepping upon an high seat, I declared unto them the marks of the false prophets, and shewed that they were already come ; and set the true prophets, and Christ and his apostles over them : and manifested these to be out of the steps of the true prophets and of Christ and his apostles. And I directed the people to their inward teacher, Christ Jesus, who would turn them from the darkness to the light. And having opened divers scriptures to them, I directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might come to him, and by which they might also come to know who the false prophets were. So having had a large time among them, I departed in peace.

After some time travelling in the country I came to Pickering, where in the steeple-house the justices held their sessions, justice Robinson being chairman ; and I had a meeting in the school-house at the same time ; and abundance of priests and professors came to it, asking questions, which were answered to their satisfaction ; and it being sessions time, four chief constables and many other people

were convinced that day. And word was carried to justice Robinson that his priest was overthrown and convinced, whom he had a love to more than to all the priests besides. After the meeting was done we went to an inn, and justice Robinson's priest was very lowly and loving, and would have paid for my dinner, but I would by no means suffer it: then he offered that I should have his steeple-house to preach in, but I denied it, and told him and the people that I came to bring them off from such things to Christ.

The next morning I went up with the four chief constables, and some others, to visit justice Robinson, who met me at his chamber door. I told him I could not honour him with man's honour, and he said he did not look for it. So I went into his chamber, and opened to him the state of the false prophets, and of the true prophets; and set the true prophets, and Christ, and the apostles over the other, and directed his mind to Christ his teachers; and opened to him the parables, and how election and reprobation stood; as that reprobation stood in the first birth, and election stood in the second birth: I shewed also what the promise of God was to, and what the judgment of God was against. He confessed to it all; and was so opened with the truth, that when another justice that was present made some little opposition, he informed him. At our parting, he said it was very well that I did exercise that gift, which God had given me; and he took the chief constables aside, and would have given them some money to have given me, saying, he would not have me at any charge in their country; but they told him that they themselves could not get me to take any money; and so accepting his kindness, refused his money.

From thence I passed up into the country, and the priest that called me brother (in whose school-house I had the meeting at Pickering) went along with me. When we came into a town to bait, the bells rang, whereupon I asked what the bells rang for, and they said, for me to preach in the steeple-house. After some time I felt drawings that way; and as I walked to the steeple-house, I saw the people were gathered together in the steeple-house yard. The old priest would have had me gone into the steeple-house, but I said nay, it was no matter; but it was something strange to the people that I would not go into that which they called the house of God. Then I stood up in the steeple-house yard, and declared to the people that I came not to hold up their idol temples, nor their priests, nor their tithes, nor their augmentations, nor their priests' wages, nor their jewish and heathenish ceremonies and traditions (for I denied all these,) and told them that that

piece of ground was no more holy than another piece of ground. And I shewed them that the apostles going into the Jews' synagogues and temples, which God had commanded, was to bring people off from that temple, and those synagogues, and from the offerings and tithes, and covetous priests of that time: and that such as came to be convinced of the truth, and converted to it, and believed in Jesus Christ, whom the apostles preached, they met together afterwards in dwelling-houses. And that all who preach Christ, the word of life, ought to preach freely, as the apostles did, and as he had commanded. So I was sent of the Lord God of heaven and earth to preach freely, and to bring people off from these outward temples made with hands, which God dwelleth not in; that they might know their bodies to become the temples of God and of Christ: and to draw people off from all their superstitious ceremonies, and Jewish and heathenish customs, traditions and doctrines of men; and from all the world's hireling teachers, that take tithes and great wages, preaching for hire and divining for money, whom God and Christ never sent, as themselves confess, when they say they never heard God's voice, nor Christ's voice. Therefore I exhorted the people to come off from all these things, and directed them to the spirit and grace of God in themselves, and to the light of Jesus in their own hearts, that they might come to know Christ, their free teacher, to bring them salvation, and to open the Scriptures to them. Thus the Lord gave me a good opportunity amongst them, to open things largely unto them; and all was quiet, and many were convinced; blessed be the Lord.

I passed on to another town, where there was another great meeting, and the old priest before mentioned went along with me; and there came professors of several sorts to it. Now I sat on a hay-stack, and spake nothing for some hours; for I was to famish them from words. And the professors would ever and anon be speaking to the old priest, and asking him when I would begin, and when I would speak; and he bade them wait; and told them, that the people waited upon Christ a long while before he spake. At last I was moved of the Lord to speak; and they were struck by the Lord's power, and the word of life reached to them, and there was a general convincement amongst them.

From hence I passed on, the old priest being still with me, and several others. And as we went along, some people called to the old priest, and said, 'Mr. Boyes, we owe you some money for tithes, pray come and take it.'

But the old priest threw up his hands, and said he had enough, he would have none of it; they might keep it: and he praised the Lord he had enough.

At length we came to this old priest's steeple-house in the Moors; and when we were come into it, the old priest went before me, and held open the pulpit door; but I forbade him, and told him I should not go into it. This steeple-house was very much painted; and I told him and the people, that the painted beast had a painted house. Then I opened to them the rise of all those houses, and their superstitious ways; shewing them, that as the end of the apostles going into the temple and synagogues, which God had commanded, was not to hold them up, but to bring them to Christ, the substance: so the end of my coming there was not to hold up these temples, priests and tithes, which God had never commanded, but to bring them off from all these things, to Christ the substance. So I shewed them the true worship, which Christ had set up; and distinguished unto them Christ the true way, from all the false ways, opening the parables to them, and turning them from the darkness to the true light, that by it they might see themselves and their sins, and Christ their Saviour; that believing in him, they might be saved from their sins.

After this we went to one Birdet's house, where I had a great meeting, and this old priest accompanied me still, leaving his steeple-house; for he had been looked upon as a famous priest, above common-prayer men, and presbyters, and independents too. Before he was convinced, he would have gone sometimes into their steeple-houses and have preached; for he had been a zealous man in his way. And when they have complained of him to justice Hotham, he would bid them distrain his horse for travelling on the Lord's day (as he called it); but Hotham did that only to put them off, for he knew the priest used no horse, but travelled on foot.

Now came I up through the country again towards Crantsick, to captain Purslo's and justice Hotham's, who received me kindly, being glad that the Lord's power had so appeared; and that truth was spread and so many had received it, and that justice Robinson was so civil. And justice Hotham said, if God had not raised up this principle of light and life, which I preached, the nation had been over-run with ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws; because (said he) they would have said as we said, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their own prin-

ciple still. But this principle of truth (said he) overthrows their principle and the root and ground thereof; and therefore (he said) he was glad the Lord had raised up this principle of life and truth.

From thence I travelled up into Holderness, and came to a justice's house, whose name was Pearson, where there was a very tender woman, that believed in the truth, and was so affected therewith, that she said she could have left all and have followed me.

Thence I went to Oram, to one George Hartise's, where many of that town were convinced. On the first-day I was moved to go into the steeple-house, where the priest had got another priest to help him; and a many professors and contenders were got together. But the Lord's power was over all, and the priests fled away, and a great deal of good service I had for the Lord amongst the people. And some of those great professors were convinced, and became honest faithful friends, being men of account in the place.

The next day, friends and friendly people having left me, I travelled alone, declaring the day of the Lord amongst people in the towns where I came, and warning them to repent. And as I travelled one day, I came towards night into a town called Patrington; and as I walked along the town, I warned both priest and people (for the priest was in the street) to repent, and turn to the Lord. Now it grew dark before I came to the end of the town; and a multitude of people gathered about me, and I declared the word of life unto them. And when I had cleared myself, I went to an inn, and desired them to let me have a lodging; but they would not. Then I desired them to let me have a little meat, or milk, and I would pay them for it; but they would not. So I walked out of the town, and a company of fellows followed me, and asked me what news; and I bid them repent, and fear the Lord. After I was gone a pretty way out of the town, I came to another house, and I desired the people of that house to let me have a little meat and drink, and lodging for my money; but they would not neither, but denied me. Then I went to another house, and desired the same; but they refused me also. By this time it was grown so dark that I could not see the highway; but I discerned a ditch, and got a little water and refreshed myself. Then I got over the ditch, and being weary with travelling, I sat down among the furze-bushes till it was day. About break of day I got up and passed on the fields; and a man came after me with a great pike-staff,

and went along with me to a town; and he raised the town upon me, with the constable and chief constable, before the sun was up. So I declared God's everlasting truth amongst them, warning them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all sin and wickedness, and exhorted them to repent. But they seized on me, and had me back again to Patrington, about three miles, guarding me with watch-bills, and pikes, and staves and halberds. Now when I was come back to Patrington, all the town was in an uproar, and the priest and people were consulting together; so I had another opportunity to declare the word of life amongst them, and warn them to repent. At last a professor, a tender man, called me into his house, and there I took a little milk and bread, having not eaten for some days before. Then they guarded me about nine miles to a justice; and when I was come near his house, there came a man riding after us, and asked me whether I was the man that was apprehended; and I asked him wherefore he asked; and he said, for no hurt; and I told him I was; so he rode away to the justice before us. The men that guarded me said, it was well if the justice was not drunk before we got to him, for he used to be drunk early. Now when I was brought in before him, because I did not put off my hat, and said thou to him, he asked the man that rode thither before me, whether I was not mazed or fond; but the man told him, no, it was my principle. Then I warned him to repent, and come to the light, which Christ had enlightened him withal, that by it he might see all his evil words and actions that he had spoken and acted, (his ungodly ways he had walked in, and his ungodly words he had spoken,) and to return to Christ Jesus whilst he had time, and that whilst he had time he should prize it. 'Ay, ay,' said he, 'the light, that is spoken of in the third of John.' I desired him that he would mind it, and obey it. And as I admonished him, I laid my hand upon him, and he was brought down by the power of the Lord; and all the watchmen stood amazed. Then he took me into a little parlour with the other man, and desired to see what I had in my pockets, of letters or intelligence; and I plucked out my linen, and shewed him that I had no letters; so he said, he is not a vagrant by his linen, and then he set me at liberty. Then I went back to Patrington again, with that man that had ridden before me to the justice, for he lived at Patrington. When I came there, he would have had me have had a meeting at the cross; but I said it was no matter, his house would serve. Then he desired me to go to bed, or lie down upon

a bed ; which he did, that they might say they had seen me in a bed, or upon a bed ; for they had got up a report that I would not lie on any bed, because at that time I lay many times without doors. Now when the first-day of the week was come, I went to the steeple-house, and declared the truth to the priest and people ; and the people did not molest me, for the power of God was come over them. Then presently after I had a great meeting at that man's house where I lay, and many that day were convinced there of the Lord's everlasting truth, who stand faithful witnesses for it to this day. And they were exceeding sorry and grieved that they did not receive me, nor give me lodging when I was there before.

From hence I travelled through the country, even to the furthest part thereof, warning people, both in towns and in country villages, to repent, and directing them to Christ Jesus their teacher.

On the first-day of the week I came to one colonel Overton's house, and had a great meeting of the prime of the people of that country ; where many things were opened out of the scriptures, which they had never heard before in all their lives ; and many were convinced, and received the word of life, and were settled in the truth of God.

Then I returned to Patrington again, and visited those friends that were convinced there ; by whom I understood that a taylor, and some wild blades in that town, had occasioned my being carried before the justice. The taylor came to ask me forgiveness, fearing I would complain of him ; the constables also were afraid, lest I should trouble them ; but I forgave them all, and warned them to turn to the Lord and to amend their lives. Now that which made them the more afraid was this : when I was in the steeple-house at Oram not long before, there came a professor, and gave me a push on the breast in the steeple-house, and bid me get me out of the church ; ' Alas, poor man,' said I, ' dost thou call the steeple-house the church ? The church is the people, whom God hath purchased with his blood, and not the house.' It happened that justice Hotham came to hear of this man's abuse done to me, and sent his warrant for him, and bound him over to the sessions ; so affected was he with the truth, and so zealous to keep the peace. And indeed this justice Hotham had asked me before, whether any people had meddled with me, or abused me ; but I was not to tell him any thing of that kind, but was to forgive all.

From Patrington I went to several great men's houses, warning them to repent. Some received me lovingly, and

some slighted me. Thus I passed on through the country; and at night came to another town, where I desired lodging and meat, and I would pay for it; but they would not lodge me, except I would go to the constable, which was the custom (they said) of all lodgers at inns, if strangers. I told them I should not go; for that custom was for suspicious persons, but I was an innocent man. So after I had warned them to repent, and declared unto them the day of their visitation, and directed them to the light of Christ and Spirit of God, that they might come to know salvation, I passed away; and the people were something tendered, and troubled afterwards. But when it grew dark, I spied an hay-stack, and went and sat under it all night, till morning.

The next day I passed into Hull, admonishing and warning people, as I went, to turn to Christ Jesus, that they might receive salvation. That night I got a lodging, but was very sore, with travelling on foot so far.

Afterward, passing through the country, I came to Balby, and visited friends up and down in those parts; and then passed into the edge of Nottinghamshire, visiting friends there; and so passed into Lincolnshire, and visited friends there. And on the first-day of the week I went to a steeple-house on this side of Trent; and in the afternoon I went to another steeple-house on the other side of Trent, declaring the word of life to the people, and directing them to their teacher, Christ Jesus, who died for them, that they might hear him, and receive salvation by him. Then I went further into the country, and had several meetings there-aways. And at one meeting where I was, there came a great man and a priest, and many professors; but the Lord's power came over them all, and they went their ways peaceably. And there came a man to that meeting, who had been at a meeting before, and he raised a false accusation against me, and made a noise up and down the country, reporting that I said I was Christ, which was utterly false. And when I came to Gainsborough, where a friend had been declaring truth in the market, the town and market-people was all in an uproar; so I went into a friendly man's house, and the people rushed in after me; so that the house was filled with professors, and disputers, and rude people. And this false accuser came in before them all, and accused me openly before all the people, that I said I was Christ, and he had got witnesses to prove the same; which set the people into such a rage, that they had much ado to keep their hands off me. Then was I moved of the Lord God to stand up upon

the table, in the eternal power of God, and tell the people that Christ was in them, except they were reprobates; and that it was Christ, the eternal power of God, that spake in me at that time unto them; not that I was Christ. And the people were generally satisfied, except himself and a professor, and his own false witnesses. And I called the accuser Judas, and was moved to tell him that he was Judas, and Judas's end should be his; and that that was the word of the Lord and of Christ, through me to him. So the Lord's power came over all, and quieted the minds of the people, and they departed in peace. But this Judas went away, and shortly after hanged himself, and a stake was driven into his grave. And afterwards the wicked priests raised a scandal upon us, and reported that a Quaker had hanged himself in Lincolnshire, and had a stake driven through him. 'This falsehood they printed to the nation, adding sin to sin, which the truth and we were clear of; for he was no more a Quaker than the priest that printed it, but was one of their own people. But notwithstanding this wicked slander, by which the adversary designed to defame us, and turn people's minds against the truth we held forth, many in Lincolnshire received the gospel, being convinced of the Lord's everlasting truth, and sat down therein under the Lord's heavenly teaching.

After this I passed in the Lord's power into Yorkshire, and came to Warnsworth, and went to the steeple-house in the forenoon, but they shut the door against me; yet after a while they let in Thomas Aldam, and then shut it again, and the priest fell upon him, asking him questions. At last they opened the door, and I went in; and as soon as I was come in the priest's sight, he left preaching, though I said nothing to him, for he was in a great maze, and asked me, what have you to say? and presently cried out, come, come, I will prove them false prophets in Matthew; but he was so confounded, he could not find the chapter. Then he fell on me, asking me many questions, and I stood still all this while, not saying any thing amongst them. At last I said, seeing here are so many questions asked, I may answer them. But as soon as I began to speak, the people violently rushed upon me, and thrust me out of the steeple-house again, and locked the door on me. And as soon as they had done their service and were come forth, the people ran upon me, and knocked me sorely with their staves, threw clods and stones at me, and abused me much; the priest also, being in a great rage, laid violent hands on me himself. But I warned them and him of the terrible

day of the Lord, and exhorted them to repent, and turn to Christ. And being filled with the Lord's refreshing power, I was not sensible of much hurt I had received by their blows. In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house, but the priest had done before I got thither, so I preached repentance to the people that were left, and directed them to their inward teacher Jesus Christ.

From hence I went to Balby, and so to Doncaster, where I had formerly preached repentance on the market-day, which had made a noise and alarm in the country. On the first-day I went to the steeple-house, and after the priest had done, I spake to him and the people what the Lord God had commanded me. And they were in a great rage, and hurried me out, and threw me down, and haled me before the magistrates, and a long examination they made of me, and much work I had with them; and they threatened my life if ever I came there again, and that they would leave me to the mercy of the people. Nevertheless I declared truth amongst them, and directed them to the light of Christ in them, testifying unto them that God was come to teach his people himself, whether they would hear or whether they would forbear. After awhile they put us out (for some friends were with me) among the rude multitude, and they stoned us down the streets; and there was an inn-keeper, that was a bailiff, came and took us into his house, and they broke his head, that the blood ran down his face, with the stones that they threw at us; so we stayed a while in his house, and shewed the more sober people the priest's fruits. Then we went away to Balby, about a mile off, and the rude people laid wait for us, and stoned us down the lane; but blessed be the Lord, we did not receive much hurt.

The next first-day I went to Tickhill, whither the friends of that side gathered together, and there was a meeting; and a mighty brokenness by the power of God there was amongst the people. I went out of the meeting, being moved of God to go to the steeple-house; and when I came there, I found the priest and most of the chief of the parish together in the chancel. So I went up to them, and began to speak; but they immediately fell upon me; and the clerk up with his bible, as I was speaking, and struck me on the face with it, so that my face gushed out with blood, and I bled exceedingly in the steeple-house. Then the people cried, let us have him out of the church; and when they had got me out, they beat me exceedingly, and threw me down, and threw me over an hedge; and afterwards dragged me through an house into the street,

stoning and beating me as they dragged me along, so that I was all over besmeared with blood and dirt. And they got my hat from me, which I never got again. Yet when I was got upon my legs again, I declared to them the word of life, and shewed them the fruits of their teacher, and how they dishonoured Christianity. So after a while I got into the meeting again amongst friends; and the priest and people coming by the house, I went forth with friends into the yard, and there I spake to the priest and people; and the priest scoffed at us, and called us Quakers. But the Lord's power was so over them, and the word of life was declared in such authority and dread to them, that the priest fell a trembling himself; and one of the people said, 'Look how the priest trembles and shakes, he is turned a Quaker also.' So when the meeting was over friends departed; and I went without my hat to Balby, about seven or eight miles: and friends were much abused that day by the priest and his people; insomuch that some moderate justices hearing of it, two or three of them came, and sat at the town, to hear and examine the business. And he that had shed my blood was afraid of having his hand cut off, for striking me in the church (as they called it): but I forgave him, and would not appear against him.

In the beginning of the year 1652 great rage got up in priests and people, and in some of the magistrates of the West Riding of Yorkshire, against the truth and against friends; insomuch that the priest of Warnsworth procured a warrant from the justices against me and Thomas Aldam, which was to be executed in any part of the West Riding of Yorkshire. At the same time I had a vision of a bear and two great mastiff dogs; that I should pass by them, and they should do me no hurt; and it proved so: for the constable took Thomas Aldam and carried him to York; and I went with Thomas Aldam twenty miles towards York: and the constable had the warrant for me also, and said he saw me, but he was loth to trouble men that were strangers, but Thomas Aldam was his neighbour. So the Lord's power restrained him, that he had not power to meddle with me. And we came to lieutenant Roper's, where we had a great meeting of many considerable men; and the truth was powerfully declared amongst them, and the scriptures wonderfully opened, and the parables and sayings of Christ were expounded, and the state of the church in the apostles' days was plainly set forth, and the apostacy since from that state discovered. And the truth had great dominion that day, so that those great men that

were present did generally confess to it, saying, they believed that this principle must go over the whole world. There were at this meeting James Naylor, Thomas Goodyear, and William Dewsbury, who had been convinced the year before; and Richard Farnsworth also. And the constable stayed with Thomas Aldam till the meeting was over, and then went towards York prison, but did not meddle with me.

From hence I went to Wakefield; and on the first-day after, I went to a steeple-house, where James Naylor had been a member of an independent church; but upon his receiving truth, he was excommunicated. When I came in, and the priest had done, the people called upon me to come up to the priest, which I did; but when I began to declare the word of life to them, and to lay open the deceit of the priest, they rushed upon me on a sudden, and thrust me out at the other door, and fell a punching and beating me, and cried, 'Let us have him to the stocks;' but the Lord's power was over them, and restrained them, that they were not suffered to put me in. So I passed away to the meeting, where were a great many professors and friendly people gathered, and a great conviction there was that day; for the people were mightily satisfied that they were directed to the Lord's teaching in themselves. Here we got some lodging; for four of us had lain abroad under an hedge the night before, there being then few friends in that place.

The same day Richard Farnsworth went to another great steeple-house, belonging to a great high priest, and declared the word of truth unto the people, and a great service he had amongst them, for the Lord's dread and power was mightily over all.

The priest of that church which James Naylor had been a member of, whose name was Marshal, raised many wicked slanders upon me, as that I carried bottles about with me, and made people drink of my bottles, and that made them follow me: and that I rode upon a great black horse, and was seen in one country upon my black horse in one hour, and in the same hour in another country threescore miles off; and that I should give a fellow money to follow me, when I was on my black horse: with these hellish lies he fed his people, to make them think evil of the truth which I had declared amongst them. But by these lies of his, he preached many of his hearers away from him; for I was then on foot, and travelled on foot, and had no horse at that time, and that the people generally knew. But the

Lord soon after met with this envious priest, and cut him off in his wickedness.

After this I came to a town called High Town, where dwelt a woman who had been convinced a little before, and we went to her house, and had a meeting; and the townspeople gathered together, and we declared the truth to them, and had some service for the Lord amongst them, and they passed away again peaceably. But there was a widow woman in the town whose name was Green, who being filled with envy, went to one that was called a gentleman in the town (who was reported to have killed two men and one woman) and informed him against us, though he was no officer. The next morning we drew up some queries to be sent to the priest; and when we had done, and were just going away, some of the friendly people of the town came running up to the house where we were, and told us that this murdering man had sharpened a pike to stab us, and was coming up with his sword by his side. We were just passing away, and so missed him. But we were no sooner gone but he came to the house where we had been, and the people generally concluded, if we had not been gone he would have murdered some of us. That night we lay in a wood, and were very wet, for it rained exceedingly. In the morning I was moved to come back to that town again, and then they gave us a full relation of this wicked man.

From hence we passed to Bradford, and came to an house, where we met with Richard Farnsworth again, from whom we had parted a little before. When we came in they set meat before us; but as I was going to eat, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, 'Eat not the bread of such as have an evil eye.' Immediately I arose from the table, and ate nothing: the woman of the house was a baptist. So after I had exhorted the family to turn to the Lord Jesus Christ, and hearken to his teachings in their own hearts, we departed thence.

And as we travelled through the country, preaching repentance to the people, we came into a market town on the market day, and there was a lecture there that day; and I went into the steeple-house, where were many priests, and professors, and people. The priest that preached took for his text those words of Jeremiah, chap. v. ver. 31; "My people love to have it so;" leaving out the foregoing words, viz. "The prophets prophecy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means." So I shewed the people his deceit, and directed them to Christ, the true teacher within, declaring unto them that God was come to

teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all the world's teachers and hirelings, that they might come to receive freely from him. Then warning them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all flesh, I passed from thence without much opposition.

At night we came to a country house, and there was no ale-house near. They desired us to stay there all night, which we did, and had good service for the Lord, declaring his truth amongst them.

The next day we passed on; for the Lord had said unto me, if but one man or woman were raised up by his power, to stand and live in the same spirit that the prophets and apostles were in, who gave forth the scriptures, that man or woman should shake all the country in their profession for ten miles round. For people had the scriptures, but were not in that same light, and power, and spirit, which they were in that gave forth the scriptures; and so they neither knew God, nor Christ, nor the scriptures aright, nor had they unity one with another, being out of the power and spirit of God. Therefore as we passed along we warned all people, wherever we met them, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

As we travelled on we came near a very great and high hill, called Pendle Hill, and I was moved of the Lord to go up to the top of it, which I did with much ado, it was so very steep and high. When I was come to the top of this hill, I saw the sea bordering upon Lancashire; and from the top of this hill the Lord let me see in what places he had a great people to be gathered. As I went down, I found a spring of water in the side of the hill, with which I refreshed myself, having eaten or drunk but little in several days before.

At night we came to an inn, and declared truth to the man of the house, and writ a paper to the priests and professors, declaring the day of the Lord, and that Christ was come to teach people himself, by his power and spirit in their hearts, and to bring people off from all the world's ways and teachers, to his own free teaching, who had bought them, and was the Saviour of all them that believed in him. The man of the house spread the paper abroad, and was mightily affected with the truth. Here the Lord opened unto me, and let me see a great people in white raiment by a river side, coming to the Lord; and the place that I saw them in was about Wentzerdale and Sedbergh.

The next day we travelled on, and at night got a little fern or brakins to lay under us, and lay upon a common. Next morning we reached to a town, and there Richard

Farnsworth parted from me, and then I travelled alone again. So I came up Wentzerdale, and at the market town in that dale there was a lecture on the market day, and I went into the steeple-house: and after the priest had done, I proclaimed the day of the Lord to the priest and people, warning them to turn from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they might come to know God and Christ aright, and to receive his teaching, who teacheth freely. And largely and freely did I declare the word of life unto them, and had not much persecution there. Afterwards I passed up the dales, warning people to fear God, and preaching the everlasting gospel to them. And in my way I came to a great house, where there was a school-master, and they got me into the house; and I asked them questions about their religion and worship, and afterward I declared the truth to them. They had me into a parlour, and locked me in, pretending that I was a young man that was mad, and had got away from my relations, and that they would keep me till they could send to my relations; but I soon convinced them of their mistake in that, and they let me forth, and would have had me to stay there; but I was not to stay there. Then having exhorted them to repentance, and directed them to the light of Christ Jesus, that through it they might come unto him and be saved, I passed from them, and came in the night to a little ale-house on a common, where there was a company of rude fellows drinking. And because I would not drink with them, they got up their clubs and were striking at me; but I reprov'd them, and brought them to be somewhat cooler; and then I walked out of the house upon the common in the night. After some time one of these drunken fellows came out, and would have come close up to me, pretending to whisper to me; but I perceived he had a knife; wherefore I kept off from him, and bid him repent, and fear God. So the Lord by his power preserved me from this wicked man; and he went into the house again. The next morning I went on through other dales, warning and exhorting people every where as I passed, to repent and turn to the Lord, and several were convinced. At one house that I came to, the man of the house (whom I afterwards found to be a kinsman of John Blakelin's) would have given me money, but I would not receive it.

As thus I travelled on through the dales I came to another man's house, whose name was Tennant; and I was moved to speak to the family, and declare God's everlasting truth to them. And as I was turning away from

them, I was moved to turn again and speak to the man himself; and he was convinced and his family, and lived and died in the truth. Thence I came to major Bousfield's, who received me, as did also several others; and some that were then convinced have stood faithful ever since. I went also through Grysedale, and several other of those dales, in which some were convinced. And I went into Dent, where many were convinced also. But from major Bousfield's I came to Richard Robinson's, and declared the everlasting truth to him.

The next day I went to a meeting at justice Benson's, where met a people that were separated from the public worship. This was the place that I had seen, where a people came forth in white raiment. A large meeting it was, and the people were generally convinced, and continue a large meeting still of friends near Sedburgh; which was then first gathered through my ministry in the name of Jesus.

In the same week there was a great fair at which servants used to be hired; and I went and declared the day of the Lord through the fair. And after I had done so, I went into the steeple-house yard, and many of the people of the fair came thither to me, and abundance of priests and professors. There I declared the everlasting truth of the Lord, and the word of life for several hours, shewing that the Lord was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers, to Christ the true teacher, and the true way to God. I laid open their teachers, shewing that they were like them that were of old condemned by the prophets, and by Christ, and by the apostles: and I exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands, and wait to receive the Spirit of the Lord, that they might know themselves to be the temples of God. Not one of the priests had power to open his mouth against what I declared: but at last a captain said, Why will you not go into the church? for this is not a fit place to preach in, said he. But I told him, I denied their church. Then stood up one Francis Howgill, who was a preacher to a congregation: he had not seen me before, yet he undertook to answer that captain, and soon put him to silence. Then said this Francis Howgill of me, This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes. After this I opened to the people, that that ground and house was no holier than another place; and that that house is not the church, but the people, whom Christ is the head of. Then after a while the priests came up to me, and I warned them to repent: one of them said

I was mad, and so they turned away. But many people were convinced there that day, and were glad at the hearing of the truth declared, and received it with joy. Amongst these was one called captain Ward, who received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it.

The next first-day I came to Firbank Chapel in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill before named, and one John Audland, had been preaching in the morning; the chapel was full of people, so that many could not get in. And Francis Howgill said he thought I looked into the chapel and his spirit was ready to fail, the Lord's power did so surprize him; but I did not look in. They made haste, and had quickly done at that time, and they and some of the people went to their dinners, but abundance staid till they came again. Now John Blakelin and others came to me, and desired me not to reprove them publicly, for they were not parish teachers, but pretty tender men. I could not tell them whether I should or no, (though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publicly against them,) but I said, they must leave me to the Lord's movings. So while the others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook and got me a little water, and then came and sat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with several of their preachers; it was judged there were above a thousand people: amongst whom I declared God's everlasting truth and word of life freely and largely, for about the space of three hours, directing all to the Spirit of God in themselves, that they might be turned from the darkness to the light, and believe in it, that they might become the children of it; and might be turned from the power of Satan, which they had been under, unto God; and by the spirit of truth might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, and of Christ, and of the apostles; and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in. And in the openings of the heavenly life, I opened unto them the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed them to Christ the substance. Then I opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and things that had been long hid, shewing the intent and scope of the apostles' writings, how that their epistles were written to the elect. And when I

had opened that state, I shewed also the state of the apostacy, that hath been since the apostles' days; how the priests have gotten the scripture (but are not in that spirit which gave them forth,) and have put them into chapter and verse, to make a trade of the holy men's words; and how that the teachers and priests now are found in the steps of the false prophets, chief priests, scribes and pharisees of old, and are such, as the true prophets, Christ and his apostles cried against, and so are judged and condemned by the spirit of the true prophets, and of Christ, and of his apostles; and that none, who was in that spirit and guided by it now, could own them. Now there were many old people, who went into the chapel and looked out at the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on a hill or mountain, and not in their church (as they called it,) whereupon I was moved to open to the people, that the steeple-house (and the ground whereon it stood,) was no more holy than that mountain; and that those temples, which they called the dreadful houses of God, were not set up by the command of God and of Christ; nor their priests called, as Aaron's priesthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as those amongst the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple and its worship, and the priests and their tithes; and all now should hearken unto him; for he said, "Learn of me;" and God said of him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." So I declared unto them that the Lord God had sent me to preach the everlasting gospel and word of life amongst them, and to bring them off from all these temples, tithes, priests and rudiments of the world, which had gotten up since the apostles' days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the Spirit and power that the apostles were in. Very largely was I opened at this meeting, and the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry, and reached home unto the hearts of the people, whereby many were convinced that day; and all the teachers of that congregation (who were many) were convinced of God's everlasting truth that day.

After the meeting was over I went to John Audland's, and from thence to Preston-Patrick chapel, where a great meeting was appointed, to which I went, and had a large opportunity amongst the people to preach the everlasting gospel to them, opening to them (as to others on the like occasion) that the end of my coming into that place was not to hold it up, no more than the apostles going into the Jewish synagogues and temple was, to uphold those; but

to bring them off from all such things (as the apostles brought the saints of old from off the Jewish temple and Aaron's priesthood) that they might come to witness their bodies to be the temples of God, and Christ in them to be their teacher.

From this place I went to Kendal, where a meeting was appointed in the town-hall; in which I declared the word of life amongst the people, shewing them how they might come to the saving knowledge of Christ, and to have a right understanding of the holy scriptures; and opening to them what it was that would lead them into the way of reconciliation with God, and what would be their condemnation. After the meeting I staid awhile in the town, and several were convinced there, and many appeared loving. One, whose name was Cock, met me in the street, and would have given me a roll of tobacco (for people then were much given to smoking tobacco,) I accepted his love, but did not receive the tobacco.

From thence I went to Under-barrow, to one Miles Bateman's, and several people going along with me, great reasonings I had with them, especially with Edward Burrough. At night the priest came, and many professors to the house, and a great deal of disputing I had with them. Supper being provided for the priest and the rest of the company, I had not freedom to eat with them, but told them if they would appoint a meeting for the next day at the steeple-house, and acquaint the people with it, I might meet them. They had a great deal of reasoning about it; some being for it, and some against it. In the morning I walked out (after I had spoken again to them concerning the meeting;) and as I walked upon a bank by the house, there came several poor people, travellers, asking relief, who I saw were in necessity; and they gave them nothing, but said they were cheats. It grieved me to see such hard-heartedness amongst professors; whereupon, when they were gone in to their breakfast, I ran after the poor people about a quarter of a mile, and gave them some money. Mean while some of them, that were in the house, coming out again, and seeing me a quarter of a mile off, said I could not have gone so far in such an instant if I had not had wings. Hereupon the meeting was like to have been put by, for they were filled with such strange thoughts concerning me, that many of them were against having a meeting with me. I told them I ran after those poor people to give them some money, being grieved at their hard-heartedness, who gave them nothing. Then came Miles and Stephen Hubbersty; and they being more simple-

hearted men, would have the meeting held. So to the chapel at Under-barrow I went: and the priest came, and a great meeting there was, and the way of life and salvation was opened, and after a while the priest fled away. And many of Crook and Under-barrow were convinced that day, and received the word of life, and stood fast in it under the teaching of Christ Jesus. Now after I had declared the truth to them for some hours, and the meeting was ended, the chief-constable, and some other professors fell to reasoning with me in the chapel-yard; whereupon I took a bible, and opened to them the scriptures, and dealt tenderly with them, as one would do with a child. And they that were in the light of Christ, and Spirit of God, knew when I spake scripture, though I did not mention chapter and verse, after the priest's form unto them.

From hence I went along with an ancient man, whose heart the Lord had opened, and he invited me to his house: his name was James Dickinson; he was convinced that day, and received the truth, and lived and died in it.

From his house I came the next day to James Taylor's, of Newton in Cartmell, in Lancashire. And on the first-day of the week I went to the chapel, where one priest Camelford used to preach, and after he had done I began to speak the word of life to the people: but this priest Camelford was in such a rage, and did so fret, and was so peevish, that he had no patience to hear, but stirred up the rude multitude, and they rudely haled me out, and struck and punched me, and threw me headlong over a stone wall; yet, blessed be the Lord, his power preserved me. He that did this violence to me was a wicked man, one John Knipe, whom afterwards the Lord cut off. But there was a youth in the chapel, writing after the priest, and I was moved to speak to him, and he came to be convinced, and received a part of the ministry of the gospel; his name was John Brathwait.

Then went I up to an ale-house, whither many people resorted betwixt the time of their morning and afternoon preaching; and I had a great deal of reasoning with the people there, declaring to them, that God was come to teach his people himself, and to bring them off from all false teachers, such as the prophets, Christ and the apostles cried against; and many received the word of life at that time, and abode in it.

In the afternoon I went about two or three miles to another steeple-house or chapel, called Lyndal; and when the priest had done, I spake to him and the people what the Lord commanded me; and there were great opposers;

but afterwards they came to be convinced. After this I went to one captain Sands, who with his wife seemed somewhat affected with truth; and if they could have held the world and truth together they would have received it, but they were hypocrites, and he a very chaffy light man; wherefore I reprov'd him for his lightness, and for his jesting, telling him it was not seemly in a great professor, as he was: thereupon he told me he had a son, who upon his death-bed had also reprov'd him for it, and warn'd him of it; but he neither regarded the admonition of his dying son, nor the reproofs of God's Spirit in himself.

From hence I went to Ulverstone, and so to Swarthmore to Judge Fell's, whither came up one Lampitt, a priest, who I perceived had been, and still was an high notionist: with him I had a great deal of reasoning; for he would talk of high notions and perfection, and thereby deceived the people. He would have own'd me, but I could not own nor join with him, he was so full of filth. He said he was above John; and made as though he knew all things; but I told him, death reigned from Adam to Moses, and that he was under death, and knew not Moses, for Moses saw the paradise of God, but he knew neither Moses nor the prophets, nor John; for that crooked and rough nature stood in him, and the mountain of sin and corruptions, and the way was not prepared in him for the Lord. He confessed he had been under a cross in things, but now he could sing psalms and do any thing: I told him, now he could see a thief, and join hand in hand with him, but he could not preach Moses, nor the prophets, nor John, nor Christ, except he were in the same spirit that they were in. Now Margaret Fell had been abroad in the daytime; and at night her children told her that priest Lampitt and I had disagreed, which did somewhat trouble her, because she was in a profession with him; (but he hid his dirty actions from them). At night we had a great deal of reasoning, and I declared the truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and I had a great deal of discourse with him before Margaret Fell, who then clearly discerned the priest; and a convincement of the Lord's truth came upon her and her family. Within a day or two there was a day to be observed for an humiliation, and Margaret Fell asked me to go with her to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, (for she was not wholly come off from them); I replied, I must do as I am ordered by the Lord. So I left her, and walked into the fields; and the word of the Lord came to me, saying, Go to the

steeple-house after them. When I came, the priest Lampitt was singing with his people; but his spirit was so foul, and the matter they sung so unsuitable to their states, that after they had done singing, I was moved of the Lord to speak to him and the people. The word of the Lord to them was, "He is not a Jew that is one outward, but he is a Jew that is one inward, whose praise is not of man, but of God." Then, as the Lord opened further, I shewed them, that God was come to teach his people by his Spirit, and to bring them off from all their old ways and religions, churches, and worships; for all their religions, and worships, and ways, was but talking of other men's words; but they were out of the life and spirit which they were in who gave them forth. Then cried out one, called justice Sawrey, Take him away; but judge Fell's wife said to the officers, Let him alone, why may not he speak as well as any other; Lampitt also, the priest, in deceit said, Let him speak. So at length, when I had declared a pretty while, this justice Sawrey caused the constable to put me out; and then I spake to the people in the graveyard.

Upon the first-day after, I was moved to go to Aldenham steeple-house; and when the priest had done, I spake to him, but he got away. Then I declared the word of life to the people, and warned them to return to the Lord.

From thence I passed to Ramside, where was a chapel, in which one Thomas Lawson used to preach, who was a high sort of priest, and he very lovingly spake to his people in the morning of my coming in the afternoon, by which means very many people were gathered together. When I came, I saw there was no place so convenient to declare to the people there as the chapel; wherefore I went into the chapel, and all was quiet; and the priest Thomas Lawson went not up into his pulpit, but left all the time to me. And the everlasting day of the eternal God was proclaimed that day, and the everlasting truth was largely declared, which reached and entered into the hearts of people, and many received the truth in the love of it: and this priest came to be convinced, and left his chapel, and threw off his preaching for hire, and came to preach the Lord Jesus and his kingdom freely. After that some rude people cast scandals upon him, and thought to have done him a mischief; but he was carried over all, and grew in the wisdom of God mightily, and proved very serviceable in his place.

Then I returned to Swarthmore again, and on the next first-day went to Dalton steeple-house, where after the

priest had done, I declared the word of life to the people, that they might be turned from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan to God, and might come off from their superstitious ways, and from their teachers made of man, to Christ the true and living way, to be taught of him.

From thence I went into the island of Walnah, and after the priest had done, I spake to him, but he got away. Then I spake to the people, and declared the truth unto them, but they were something rude. Then went I to speak with the priest at his house, but he would not be seen; the people said he went to hide himself in the hay-mow; and they went to look for him there, but could not find him. Then they said he was gone to hide himself in the standing corn, but they could not find him there neither. So I went to James Lancaster's, who was convinced in the island; and from thence I returned to Swarthmore again, where the Lord's power seized upon Margaret Fell and her daughter Sarah, and several of them.

Then I went to Becliff, where Leonard Fell was convinced, and became a minister of the everlasting gospel; and several others were convinced there, and came into obedience to the truth. Here the people said, they could not tell how to dispute, and would fain have put on some other to hold talk with me; but I bid them fear the Lord, and not in a light way hold a talk of the Lord's words, but put the things in practice. And I directed them to the divine light of Christ and his spirit in their hearts, which would let them see all the evil thoughts, words, and actions, that they had thought, spoken, and acted; by which light they might see their sin, and by which light they might also see their Saviour, Christ Jesus, to save them from their sins. This, I told them, was their first step to peace, even to stand still in the light that shewed them their sins and transgressions, by which they might come to see how they were in the fall of old Adam, in the darkness and death, strangers to the covenant of promise, and without God in the world; and by the same light they might see Christ, that died for them, to be their Redeemer and Saviour, and their way to God.

After this I went to a chapel beyond Gleaston, which was built, but never priest had preached in it. Thither all the country up and down came, and a quiet peaceable meeting it was, in which the word of life was declared amongst the people, and many were convinced of the truth about Gleaston.

From thence I returned to Swarthmore again, where

after I had staid a few days, and most of the family were convinced, I went from thence back again into Westmoreland, where priest Lampitt had been amongst the professors on Kendal side, and had mightily incensed them against me; telling them I held many strange things. So I met with them that he had so incensed, and sate up all night with them at James Dickinson's, and answered all their objections; and then they were both thoroughly satisfied with the truth that I had declared, and dissatisfied with him and his lies that he had divulged, so that he clearly lost the best of his hearers and followers, who hereby came to see his deceit, and forsook him.

Then I passed on to John Audland's and Gervase Benson's, and had great meetings amongst those people that had been convinced before; and to John Blakelin's and Richard Robinson's, and had mighty meetings there; and so up towards Grisedale.

Soon after judge Fell being come home, Margaret Fell his wife sent to me, desiring me to return thither; and I feeling freedom from the Lord so to do, went back through the country to Swarthmore; where when I came, I found the priests and professors, and that envious justice Sawrey, had much incensed judge Fell and captain Sands against the truth by their lies; but when I came to speak with him, I answered all his objections; and so thoroughly satisfied him by the scriptures, that he was convinced in his judgment. Then he asked me if I was that George Fox whom justice Robinson spake so much in commendation of amongst many of the parliament men; I told him I had been with justice Robinson, and with justice Hotham in Yorkshire, who were very civil and loving to me, and that they were convinced in their judgments by the Spirit of God, that the principle which I bore testimony to was the truth, and they did see over and beyond the priests of the nation; so that they, and many others, were now come to be wiser than their teachers. After we had discoursed a pretty time together, judge Fell himself was satisfied also, and came to see, by the openings of the Spirit of God in his heart, over all the priests and teachers of the world, and did not go to hear them for some years before he died; for he knew it was the truth that I declared, and that Christ was the teacher of his people, and their Saviour; and he would sometimes wish that I were awhile with judge Bradshaw to discourse with him. There came to judge Fell's that captain Sands before-mentioned, endeavouring to incense the judge against me, for he was an evil-minded man, and full of envy against me: and yet he

could speak high things, and use the scripture words, and say, 'Behold, I make all things new.' But I told him, then he must have a new God, for his god was his belly. Besides him, thither came also that envious justice John Sawrey; and I told him his heart was rotten, and he was full of hypocrisy to the brim. Several other people also came, whose states the Lord gave me a discerning of; and I spake unto their conditions. And while I was in those parts Richard Farnsworth and James Naylor came thither to see me and the family; and judge Fell being satisfied that it was the way of truth, notwithstanding all their opposition, let the meeting be kept at his house; and a great meeting was settled there in the Lord's power, to the tormenting of the priests and professors, which hath continued there near forty years, until the year 1690, that a new meeting-house was erected near it.

Now after I had staid awhile, and the meeting there was well settled, I departed from thence, and went to Underbarrow, where I had a great meeting. From thence I went to Kellet, and had a great meeting at Robert Withers's, to which several came from Lancaster, and some from York, and many were convinced there. Then on the market day I went to Lancaster, and spake through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the day of the Lord to the people, and crying out against all their deceitful merchandize; and I preached righteousness and truth unto them, which they should all follow after, and walk and live in; directing them how and where they might find and receive the Spirit of God, to guide them thereinto. After I had cleared myself in the market, I went to my lodging, whither several people came to me; and many were convinced there, who have stood faithful to the truth.

On the first-day following, in the forenoon, I had a great meeting in the street at Lancaster, amongst the soldiers and people, unto whom I declared the word of life, and the everlasting truth: and I opened unto them that all the traditions they had lived in, and all their worships and religions, and the profession they made of the scriptures, was good for nothing, while they lived out of the life and power which they were in who gave forth the scriptures. And I directed them to the light of Christ, the heavenly Man, and to the Spirit of God in their own hearts, that they might come to be acquainted with God and with Christ, and receive him for their teacher, and know his kingdom set up in them.

In the afternoon I went to the steeple-house at Lancaster, and declared the truth both to the priest and people;

laying open before them the deceits they lived in, and directing them to the power and Spirit of God, which they wanted. But they haled me out, and stoned me along the street, till I came to John Lawson's house.

On another first-day I went to another steeple-house by the water side, where one Whitehead was priest, to whom, and to the people, I declared the truth in the dreadful power of God. And there came to me a doctor, who was so full of envy, that he said he could find in his heart to run me through with his rapier, though he was hanged for it the next day; yet this man came afterwards to be convinced of the truth, so far as to be loving to friends. And some people were convinced thereabouts, who willingly sate down under the ministry of Christ their teacher: and a meeting was settled there in the power of God, which has continued to this day.

After this I returned into Westmoreland, and spake through Kendal upon a market day: and so dreadful was the power of God that was upon me, that people flew like chaff before me into their houses. I warned them of the mighty day of the Lord, and exhorted them to hearken to the voice of God in their own hearts, who was now come to teach his people himself. And when some opposed, many people took my part, insomuch, that at last some of the people fell to fighting about me; but I went to them, and spake to them, and they parted again; and several were convinced.

On the first-day after I had a very large meeting in Underbarrow, at Miles Bateman's house, where I was moved to declare, that all people in the fall were gone from the image of God, righteousness, and holiness, and were become as wells without the water of life, as clouds without the heavenly rain, as trees without the heavenly fruit, and were degenerated into the nature of beasts, and of serpents, and of tall cedars, and of oaks, and of bulls, and of heifers. So that they might read the natures of these creatures within, as the prophet described them to the people of old that were out of truth. I opened to them how some were in the nature of dogs and swine, biting and rending; some in the nature of briars, thistles, and thorns; some like the owls and dragons in the night; some like the wild asses and horses, snuffing up the wind; and some like the mountains and rocks, and crooked and rough ways. Wherefore I exhorted them to read these things within, in their own natures, as well as without; and that, when they read without of the wandering stars, they should look within, and see how they wandered from

the bright and morning star. And they should consider, that as the fallow ground in their fields must be plowed up, before it would bear seed to them, so must the fallow ground of their hearts be plowed up, before they could bear seed to God. Now all these names and things I shewed them, were spoken of and to man and woman, since they fell from the image of God; but as they do come to be renewed again into the image of God, they come out of the natures of these things, and so out of the names thereof. Many more such things were declared to them, and they were turned to the light of Christ, by which they might come to know Christ, and to receive him; and might witness him to be their substance and their way, their salvation and true teacher; and many were convinced at that time.

Now after I had travelled up and down those countries, and had had great meetings, I came to Swarthmore again. And when I had visited friends awhile in those parts, I heard of a great meeting the priests were to have at Ulverstone, on a lecture day; whereupon I went down to it, and went into the steeple-house in the dread and power of the Lord; and when the priest had done, I spake among them the word of the Lord, which was as an hammer, and as a fire amongst them. And though Lampitt (the priest of the place) had been at variance with most of the priests before, yet against the truth he and they all joined together. But the mighty power of the Lord was over all; and so wonderful was the appearance thereof, that priest Bennet said the church shook, insomuch that he was afraid and trembled; and when he had spoken a few confused words, he hastened out, for fear the steeple-house would fall on his head. There were many priests got together there; yet they had no power as yet to persecute.

When I had cleared my conscience against them, I went up to Swarthmore again, whither came up four or five of the priests; and coming to discourse, I asked them, whether any one of them could say he ever had the word of the Lord to go and speak to such or such a people: none of them durst say he had; but one of them burst out into a passion, and said he could speak his experiences as well as I. I told him experience was one thing, but to receive and go with a message, and to have a word from the Lord, as the prophets and apostles had and did, and as I had done to them, this was another thing. And therefore I put it to them again, could any of them say he had ever had a command or word from the Lord immediately at any time; but none of them could say so. Then I told them,

the false prophets, and false apostles, and antichrists, could use the words of the true prophets, and true apostles, and of Christ, and would speak of other men's experiences, though they themselves never knew nor heard the voice of God or Christ; and such as they might get the good words and experiences of others: this puzzled them much, and laid them open. For at another time, when I was discoursing with several priests at judge Fell's house, and he was by, I asked them the same question, whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Christ, to bid him go to such and such a people, to declare his word or message unto them; for any one (I told them), any that could but read, might declare the experiences of the prophets and apostles, which were recorded in the scriptures. Hereupon one of them, whose name was Thomas Taylor, an ancient priest, did ingenuously confess before judge Fell, that he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Christ, to send him to any people, but he spake his experiences, and the experiences of the saints in former ages, and that he preached. This very much confirmed judge Fell in the persuasion he had, that the priests were wrong; for he had thought formerly, as the generality of people then did, that they were sent from God.

This Thomas Taylor was convinced at this time, and travelled with me into Westmoreland; and coming to Crossland steeple-house, we found the people gathered together there; and the Lord opened Thomas Taylor's mouth amongst the people (though he was convinced but the day before) so that he declared amongst them, how he had been before he was convinced; and like the good scribe that was converted to the kingdom, he brought forth things new and old to the people, and shewed them how the priests were out of the way; which did torment the priests. Some little discourse I had with them, but they fled away; and a precious meeting there was, wherein the Lord's power was over all, and the people were directed to the Spirit of God, by which they might come to know God and Christ, and to understand the scriptures aright. After this I passed on, visiting friends, and had very large meetings in Westmoreland.

Now began the priests to rage more and more, and as much as they could to stir up persecution. Whereupon James Naylor and Francis Howgill were cast into prison in Appleby goal, at the instigation of the malicious priests, some of whom prophesied that within a month we should be all scattered again, and come to nothing. But blessed for ever be the worthy name of the Lord, the work of the

Lord went on and prospered. For about this time John Audland and Francis Howgill, and John Camm, and Edward Burrough, and Richard Hubberthorn, and Miles Hubbersty, and Miles Halhead, with several others, being endued with power from on high, came forth in the work of the ministry, and approved themselves faithful labourers therein, travelling up and down, and preaching the gospel freely; by means whereof multitudes were convinced, and many effectually turned to the Lord. Amongst these Christopher Taylor was one, who was brother to Thomas Taylor before mentioned; and had been a preacher to a people, as well as his brother; but after they had received the knowledge of the truth, they soon came into obedience thereunto, and left their preaching for hire or rewards. And having received a part of the ministry of the gospel, they preached Christ freely; being often sent by the Lord to declare his word in steeple-houses and in markets; and great sufferers they were.

After I had visited friends in Westmoreland, I returned into Lancashire, and went to Ulverstone, where ——— Lampitt was priest; who though he had preached of a people that did own the teachings of God, and had said that men and women should come to declare the gospel, yet afterwards, when it came to be fulfilled, he persecuted both it and them. To this priest's house I went, where abundance of priests and professors were got together after their lecture, with whom I had great disputings concerning Christ and the scriptures; for they were loth to let their trade go down, which they made of preaching Christ's, and the apostles' and prophets' words. But the Lord's power went over the heads of them all, and his word of life went forth amongst them; though many of them were exceeding envious and devilish. Yet after this many priests and professors came to me from far and near; of whom, they that were innocent and simple-minded were satisfied, and went away refreshed; but the fat and full were fed with judgment, and sent empty away: for that was the word of the Lord to be divided to them.

Now when meetings were set up, and we met in private houses, then began Lampitt the priest to rage; and he said we forsook the temple, and went to Jeroboam's calves-houses; so that many professors began to see how he had declined from that which he had formerly held and preached. Hereupon the case of Jeroboam's calves was opened to the professors, priests and people; and it was declared and manifested unto them, that their houses (which they called churches) were more like Jeroboam's

calves-houses, even the old mass-houses, which were set up in the darkness of popery, and which they, who called themselves Protestants, and professed to be more enlightened than the Papists, did still hold up; although God had never commanded them: whereas that temple, which God had commanded at Jerusalem, Christ came to end the service of; and they that received and believed in him, their bodies came to be the temples of God, and of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost to dwell in them, and to walk in them. And all such were gathered into the name of Jesus, whose name is above every name, and there is no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus. And they that were thus gathered, met together in several dwelling-houses, which were not called the temple, nor the church; but their bodies were the temples of God, and the believers were the church, which Christ was the head of. So that Christ was not called the head of an old house, which was made by men's hands, neither did he come to purchase and sanctify, and redeem with his blood, an old house, which they called their church, but the people which he is the head of. Much work I had in those days with priests and people concerning their old mass-houses, which they called their churches; for the priests had persuaded the people that it was the house of God; whereas the apostle says, 'whose house we are,' &c. Heb. iii. 6. So the people are God's house, in whom he dwells. And the apostle saith, Christ purchased his church with his own blood; and Christ calls his church his spouse, and his bride the Lamb's wife; so that this title, church and spouse, was not given to an old house, but to his people, the true believers.

After this, on a lecture-day, I was moved to go to the steeple-house at Ulverstone, where were abundance of professors, priests, and people. I went up near to priest Lampitt, who was blustering on in his preaching; and after the Lord had opened my mouth to speak, John Sawrey the justice came to me, and said if I would speak according to the scriptures I should speak. I stranged at him for speaking so to me, for I did speak according to the scriptures, and I told him I should speak according to the scriptures, and bring the scriptures to prove what I had to say; for I had something to speak to Lampitt and to them. Then he said I should not speak, contradicting himself who had said just before I should speak, if I would speak according to the scriptures, which I did. Now the people were quiet, and heard me gladly, until this justice Sawrey (who was the first stirrer up of cruel persecution in the

north) incensed them against me, and set them on to hale, beat, and bruise me. Then on a sudden the people were in a rage, and they fell upon me in the steeple-house before his face, and knocked me down, and kicked me, and trampled upon me, he looking on; and so great was the uproar, that some people tumbled over their seats for fear. At last he came and took me from the people, and led me out of the steeple-house, and put me into the hands of the constables and other officers, bidding them whip me, and put me out of the town. Then they led me about a quarter of a mile, some taking hold by my collar, and some by my arms and shoulders, and shook and dragged me along. And there being many friendly people come to the market, and some of them come to the steeple-house to hear me, divers of these they knocked down also, and brake their heads, so that the blood ran down from several of them. And judge Fell's son running after, to see what they would do with me, they threw him into a ditch of water, some of them crying, knock the teeth out of his head. Now when they had haled me to the common-moss side, a multitude of people following, the constables and other officers gave me some blows over my back with their willow-rods, and so thrust me among the rude multitude, who (having furnished themselves, some with staves, some with hedge-stakes, and others with holm or holly-bushes) fell upon me, and beat me on my head, arms, and shoulders, till they had amazed me; so that I fell down upon the wet common. And when I recovered myself again, and saw myself lying in a watery common, and the people standing about me, I lay still a little while; and the power of the Lord sprang through me, and the Eternal Refreshings refreshed me, so that I stood up again in the strengthening power of the Eternal God. And stretching out my arms amongst them, I said with a loud voice, 'Strike again; here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks.' There was in the company a mason, a professor, but a rude fellow; he with his walking rule-staff gave me a blow with all his might, just over the back of my hand, as it was stretched out, with which blow my hand was so bruised, and my arm so benumbed, that I could not draw it unto me again; so that some of the people cried out, he hath spoiled his hand for ever having any use of it more. But I looked at it in the love of God (for I was in the love of God to them all, that had persecuted me) and after a while the Lord's power sprang through me again, and through my hand and arm, so that in a moment I recovered strength in my hand and arm in the sight of them all. Then they

began to fall out among themselves, and some of them came to me, and said if I would give them money, they would secure me from the rest. But I was moved of the Lord to declare to them all the word of life, and shewed them their false Christianity, and the fruits of their priest's ministry, telling them they were more like heathens and Jews than true Christians. Then was I moved of the Lord to come up again through the midst of the people, and go up into Ulverstone market. And as I went, there met me a man, a soldier, with his sword by his side; 'Sir,' said he to me, 'I see you are a man, and I am ashamed and grieved that you should be thus abused;' and he offered to assist me in what he could. But I told him the Lord's power was over all; so I walked through the people in the market, and none of them had power to touch me then. But some of the market-people abusing some friends in the market, I turned me about and saw this soldier among them with his naked rapier, whereupon I ran in amongst them, and catching hold of his hand, that his rapier was in, I bid him put up his sword again if he would go along with me; for I was willing to draw him out from the company, lest some mischief should be done. Yet a few days after seven men fell upon this soldier, and beat him cruelly, because he had taken part with friends and me; for it was the manner of the persecutors of that country for twenty or forty people to run upon one man. And they fell so upon friends in many places, that they could hardly pass the high-ways, stoning, beating, and breaking their heads. Now when I came up to Swarthmore, I found the friends there dressing the heads and hands of friends and friendly people, which had been broken or hurt that day by the professors and hearers of Lampitt, the priest. My body and arms were yellow, black, and blue, with the blows and bruises I received amongst them that day. And now began the priests to prophecy again, that within half a year we should be all put down and gone.

About two weeks after this I went into Walney island, and James Naylor went with me; and we stayed one night at a little town on this side, called Cockan, and had a meeting there, where there was one convinced. After a while there came a man with a pistol, whereupon the people ran out of doors. He called for me; and when I came out to him, he snapped his pistol at me, but it would not go off. This caused the people to make a great bustle about him; and some of them took hold of him, to prevent his doing mischief; but I was moved in the Lord's power to speak to him; and he was so struck by the power of the

Lord, that he trembled for fear, and went and hid himself. Thus the Lord's power came over them all, though there was a great rage in the country.

The next morning I went over in a boat to James Lancaster's; and as soon as I came to land, there rushed out about forty men with staves, clubs, and fishing-poles, and fell upon me, beating and punching me, and endeavoured to thrust me backward into the sea. And when they had thrust me almost into the sea, and I saw they would have knocked me down there in the sea, I went up into the middle of them; but they laid at me again, and knocked me down, and stunned me. When I came to myself, I looked up and saw James Lancaster's wife throwing stones at my face, and her husband James Lancaster was lying over me, to keep the blows and the stones from off me; for the people had persuaded James Lancaster's wife that I had bewitched her husband; and had promised her, that if she would let them know when I came thither, they would be my death. And having got knowledge of my coming, many of the town rose up in this manner with clubs and staves to kill me; but the Lord's power preserved me, that they could not take away my life. At length I got up upon my feet, but they beat me down again into the boat; which James Lancaster observing, he presently came into the boat to me, and set me over the water from them; but while we were on the water within their reach, they struck at us with long poles, and threw stones after us. By that time we were come to the other side, we saw them beating James Naylor; for whilst they had been beating of me, he walked up into a field, and they never minded him till I was gone; then they fell upon him, and all their cry was, kill him, kill him.

Now when I was come over to the town again, on the other side of the water, the townsmen rose up with pitchforks, flails, and staves, to keep me out of the town, crying, kill him, knock him on the head, bring the cart, and carry him away to the church-yard. So after they had abused me, they drove me a pretty way out of the town, and there left me. Then went James Lancaster back again to look after James Naylor; and I being now left alone, went to a ditch of water, and having washed myself (for they had all bedirted and besmeared my face, hands, and clothes, with miry dirt and wet) I walked about three miles to Thomas Hutton's house, where lodged Thomas Lawson, the priest that was convinced. And when I came in,

I could hardly speak to them I was so bruised, only I told them where I left James Naylor; whereupon they took each of them an horse, and went and brought him thither that night. The next day Margaret Fell hearing of it, sent an horse for me, but so sore I was with the bruises I had, that I was not able to bear the shaking of the horse without much pain. When I was come to Swarthmore, justice Sawrey, and one justice Thompson of Lancaster, granted forth a warrant against me; but judge Fell coming home, it was not served upon me; for he was out of the country all this time that I was thus abused and cruelly used. But when he came home, he sent forth warrants into the isle of Walney, to apprehend all those riotous persons; whereupon some of them fled the country. James Lancaster's wife was afterwards convinced of the truth, and repented of the evil she had done me; and so did some others of those bitter persecutors also; but the judgments of God fell upon some of them, and destruction is come upon many of them since. Judge Fell asked me to give him a relation of my persecution; but I told him they could do no otherwise in the spirit wherein they were, and that they manifested the fruits of their priest's ministry, and their profession and religion to be wrong. So he told his wife I made nothing of it, and that I spake of it as man that had not been concerned; for, indeed, the Lord's power healed me again.

After I was recovered, I went to Yelland, where there was a great meeting. In the evening there came a priest to the house, with a pistol in his hand, under pretence to light a pipe of tobacco; and the maid of the house seeing the pistol, told her master; who thereupon clapping his hands on both the door-posts, told him he should not come in there. And while he stood there, keeping the doorway, he looked up, and spied over the wall a company of men coming, some armed with staves, and one with a musket. But the Lord God prevented their bloody design; so that seeing themselves discovered, they went their way, and did no harm.

The time for the sessions at Lancaster being come, I went to Lancaster with judge Fell; who on the way told me he had never had such a matter brought before him before, and he could not well tell what to do in the business. I told him, when Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and priests came down to accuse him, and laid many false things to his charge, Paul stood still all that while. And when they had done, Festus, the governor, and king Agrippa, beckoned to him to speak for

himself; which Paul did, and cleared himself of all those false accusations; and so he might do by me. Being come to Lancaster, and justice Sawrey and justice Thompson having granted a warrant to apprehend me, though I was not apprehended by it, yet hearing of it, I appeared at the sessions, where there appeared against me about forty priests. These had chosen one Marshal, priest of Lancaster, to be their orator; and had provided one young priest, and two priest's sons, to bear witness against me, who had sworn before-hand that I had spoken blasphemy. When the justices were set, they heard all that the priests and their witnesses could say and charge against me; their orator Marshal, sitting by, and explaining their sayings for them; but the witnesses were so confounded, that they discovered themselves to be false witnesses; for when the court had examined one of the witnesses upon oath, and then began to examine another of them, he was at such loss he could not answer directly, but said the other could say it. Which made the justices say to him, have you sworn it, and given it in already upon your oath, and now say that he can say it? It seems you did not hear those words spoken yourself, though you have sworn it.

There were then in court several people who had been at that meeting, wherein the witnesses swore I spake those blasphemous words which the priests accused me of; and these being men of integrity and reputation in the country, did declare and affirm in court, that the oath, which the witnesses had taken against me, was altogether false, and that no such words as they had sworn against me were spoken by me at that meeting; for, indeed, most of the serious men of that side of the county, that were then at the sessions, had been at that meeting, and had heard me both at that meeting and at other meetings also. This was taken notice of by colonel West, who being a justice of the peace, was then upon the bench; and having long been weak in body, blessed the Lord, and said, the Lord had healed him that day; adding, that he never saw so many sober people and good faces together in all his life. And then, turning himself to me, he said in the open sessions, George, if thou hast any thing to say to the people, thou mayest freely declare it. And I was moved of the Lord to speak; and as soon as I began, priest Marshal, the orator for the rest of the priests, went his way. That which I was moved to declare was this, that the holy scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God, and all people must first come to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, of whom the

prophets and the apostles learnt ; and by the same Spirit know the holy scriptures ; for as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the scriptures, so the same Spirit of God must be in all them that come to know and understand the scriptures ; by which Spirit they might have fellowship with the Son, and with the Father, and with the scriptures, and with one another ; and without this Spirit they can know neither God nor Christ, nor the scriptures, nor have right fellowship one with another. I had no sooner spoken these words, but about half a dozen priests that stood behind my back, burst out into a passion, and one of them, whose name was Jackus, amongst other things that he spake against the truth, said that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable. I replied, then every one that hath the letter hath the Spirit, and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the scriptures. This plain discovery of darkness in the priest moved judge Fell and colonel West to reprove them openly, and tell them, that according to that position they might carry the Spirit in their pockets as they did the scriptures. Upon this the priests being confounded and put to silence, rushed out in a rage against the justices, because they could not have their bloody ends upon me. So the justices, seeing the witnesses did not agree, and perceiving that they were brought to answer the priests' envy, and finding that all their evidences were not sufficient in law to make good their charge against me, they discharged me. And after judge Fell had spoken to justice Sawrey and justice Thompson concerning the warrant they had given forth against me, and shewed them the errors thereof, he and colonel West granted a supersedeas to stop the execution thereof. Thus was I cleared in open sessions of all those lying accusations which the malicious priests had laid to my charge ; and multitudes of people praised God that day, for it was a joyful day to many. There was justice Benson out of Westmoreland, who was convinced ; and major Ripan, that was mayor of the town of Lancaster, who was convinced also. It was a day of everlasting salvation to hundreds of people ; for the Lord Jesus Christ, the way to the Father, and the free teacher, was exalted and set up, and his everlasting gospel was preached, and the word of eternal life was declared over the heads of the priests, and all such money-preachers ; for the Lord opened many mouths that day to speak his word to the priests, and several friendly people and professors reprov'd the priests in their inns, and in the streets ; so that they fell, like an old rotten house ; and the cry was among the people, that

the Quakers had got the day, and the priests were fallen. Many people were convinced that day, amongst whom Thomas Briggs was one, who before had been averse from friends and truth, insomuch that discoursing on a time with John Lawson, a friend, concerning perfection, Thomas Briggs said to him, dost thou hold perfection? and therewithal lift up his hand to have given the friend a box on the ear. But this Thomas Briggs, being convinced of the truth that day, declared against his own priest Jackus; and afterwards became a faithful minister of the gospel, and stood so to the end of his days.

When the sessions were over, James Naylor, who was present thereat, gave a brief account of the proceedings thereof in a letter, which soon after he wrote to friends; which is here added for the reader's further satisfaction in this matter;

‘ Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ, my dear love unto you all, desiring you may be kept steadfast in the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the power of his love, boldly to witness forth the truth, as it is revealed in you by the mighty working of the Father: to him alone be everlasting praise and honour for evermore! Dear friends, the Lord doth much manifest his love and power in these parts. Upon the second day of the last week my brother George and I were at Lancaster; there were abundance of friends from all parts: and a great sort, which sided with the priests, giving out, they now hoped to see a stop put to that great work which had gone on so fast, and with such power, that their kingdom is much shaken. We were called before judge Fell, colonel West, justice Sawrey, &c. to answer what was charged against George. There were three witnesses to eight particulars, but they were much confused in themselves, which gave much light to the truth; whereby the justices did plainly see that it was envy; and they divers times told them so. One of the witnesses was a young priest, who confessed he had not meddled, had not another priest sent for him, and set him on work. The other witnesses were two priests' sons: it was proved there by many that heard one of them say, if he had power he would make George deny his profession, and that he would take away his life. This was a single witness to one of the greatest untruths that was charged against George; and the justices told him, that they saw, because he could not take away his life, he went about to take away his liberty. There was one priest chosen out of the whole number as an orator to plead against us, who

spared no pains to shew forth his envy against the truth : and when he could not prevail, he went down in a rage ; and there came up a pack of them into the room, among whom was one Jackus. George was then speaking in the room (one of the justices having wished him, if he had any thing to say, he would speak) at which the said priest Jackus was in such a rage, that he brake forth into many high expressions against the truth spoken by my dear brother George, amongst which this was one, that the letter and the spirit were inseparable. Hereupon the justices stood up, and bid him prove that before he went any further. Then he seeing himself caught, would have denied it ; and when he could not get off so, the rest of the priests would have helped him to a meaning for his words ; but the justices would admit no other meaning than the plain sense of the words, but told him he had laid down a position, and it was fit he should prove it, pressing the matter close upon him. Whereupon the priests, being put to silence, went down in a greater rage than before ; and some of them, after they were gone down, being asked what they had done, lied and said, they could not get into the room ; thereby to hide their shame, and keep the people in blindness. The justices, judge Fell, and colonel West, were much convinced of the truth, and did set up justice and equity ; and have much silenced the rage of the people. Many bitter spirits were at Lancaster to see the event, but went home and cried the priests had lost the day : everlasting praises be to him who fought the battle for us, who is our King for ever ! There were others called, who the witnesses confessed were in the room when the things charged on George were said to have been spoken, but they all, as one man, denied that any such words were spoken ; which gave much light to the justices, and they durst trust what they witnessed ; for they said they knew many of them to be honest men. There was a warrant granted out against us at Appleby, but justice Benson told them it was not according to law, and so it ceased ; as I hear he is a faithful man to the truth. The priests began to preach against the justices, and said they were not to meddle in these things, but to end controversy betwixt neighbour and neighbour. They are not pleased with the law, because it is not in the statute to imprison us, as the priest that pleaded against us said : the justices bid him go put it into the statute, if he could ; he said it should want no will of his. They are much afraid that they shall lose all ; they are much discontented in these parts ; and some of them cry, all is gone. Dear friends, dwell in patience, and wait

upon the Lord, who will do his own work. Look not at man in the work, nor at man who opposeth the work; but rest in the will of the Lord, that so ye may be furnished with patience, both to do and to suffer what ye shall be called unto, that your end in all things may be his praise. And take up his cross freely, which keeps low the fleshly man; that Christ may be set up and honoured in all things, and so the light advanced in you, and the judgment set up, which must give sentence against all that opposeth the truth; that the captivity may be led captive, and the prisoner set free to seek the Lord; that righteousness may rule in you, and peace and joy may dwell in you, wherein consisteth the kingdom of the Father; to whom be all praise for ever! dear friends, meet often together; and take heed of what exalteth itself above its brother; but keep low, and serve one another in love for the Lord's sake. Let all friends know how it is with us, that God may have the praise of all.'

J. N.

Written from Kellet, the 30th day
of the 8th month, 1652.

At this time I was in a fast, and was not to eat until this work of God, which then lay weighty upon me, was accomplished. But the Lord's power was wonderfully set over all, to his glory; and gave truth and friends dominion therein over all, to his glory; and his gospel was freely preached that day, over the heads of about forty hireling priests. I stayed two or three days afterwards in Lancaster, and had some meetings there; and the rude and baser sort of people plotted together to have drawn me out of the house, and to have thrown me over Lancaster bridge, but the Lord prevented them. Then they invented another mischief, which was this: after a meeting at Lancaster they brought down a distracted man, and another with him with bundles of birchen rods, bound together like besoms, with which they should have whipped me: but I was moved to speak to them in the Lord's mighty power, which chained down the distracted man, and the other also, and made them calm and quiet. Then I bid him throw his rods into the fire, and burn them, and he did so. Thus the Lord's power being over them, they departed quietly.

But the priests, fretting to see themselves overthrown at the sessions at Lancaster, got some of the envious justices to join with them; and at the following assize at Lancaster informed judge Windham against me. Whereupon the judge made a speech against me in open court; and commanded colonel West, who was clerk of the assize,

to issue forth a warrant for the apprehending of me: but colonel West told the judge of my innocency, and spake boldly in my defence. Yet the judge commanded him again, either to write a warrant or go off from his seat: then he told the judge plainly that he would not do it; but that he would offer up all his estate, and his body also, for me. So he stopt the judge; and the Lord's power came over all; so that the priests and justices could not get their envy executed. That same night I came into Lancaster, it being the assize time, and hearing of a warrant to be given out against me, I judged it better to shew myself openly, than for my adversaries to seek me. So I went to judge Fell's and colonel West's chambers; and as soon as I came in they smiled on me; and colonel West said, 'What! are you come into the dragon's mouth?' I stayed in town till the judge went out of town; and I walked up and down the town, but no one meddled with me, nor questioned me. Thus the Lord's blessed power, which is over all, carried me through and over this exercise, and gave dominion over his enemies, and enabled me to go on in his glorious work and service for his great name's sake. For though the beast maketh war against the saints, yet the Lamb hath got, and will get, the victory.

From Lancaster I returned to Robert Withers's, and from thence I went to Thomas Leper's to a meeting in the evening; and a very blessed meeting we had there. After the meeting was done, I walked in the evening to Robert Withers's again. And no sooner was I gone, but there came a company of disguised men to Thomas Leper's with swords and pistols; who suddenly entering the house, put out the candles, and swung their swords about amongst the people of the house; so that the people were fain to hold up the chairs before them, to save themselves from being cut and wounded. At length they drove all the people of the house out of the house, and then searched the house for me; who, it seems, was the only person they looked for: for they had laid wait before in the highway by which I should have gone, if I had ridden to Robert Withers's. And not meeting with me on the way, they thought to have found me in the house, but the Lord prevented them. Soon after I was come in at Robert Withers's, some friends came from the town where Thomas Leper lived, and gave us a relation of this wicked attempt: and the friends were afraid lest they should come and search Robert Withers's house also for me, and do me a mischief; but the Lord restrained them, that they came not. Though

the men were in disguise, yet the friends perceived some of them to be Frenchmen, and supposed them to be servants belonging to one called Sir Robert Bindlas; for some of them had said that in their nation they used to tie the protestants to trees, and whip them, and destroy them. And his servants used often to abuse friends, both in their meetings, and going to and from their meetings. They once took Richard Hubberthorn and several others out of the meeting, and carried them a good way off into the fields; and there bound them, and left them bound in the winter season. And at another time one of his servants came to Francis Flemming's house, and thrust his naked rapier in at the door and windows; but there being at the house a kinsman of Francis Flemming's, one who was not a friend, he came with a cudgel in his hand, and bid the serving-man put up his rapier; which when the other would not, but vapoured at him with it, and was rude, he knocked him down with his cudgel, and took his rapier from him; and had it not been for friends, he would have run him through with it. So the friends preserved his life, that would have destroyed theirs.

From Robert Withers's I went to visit justice West, Richard Hubberthorn accompanying me; and not knowing the way, nor the danger of the sands, we rode where (as we were afterwards told) no man ever rode before, swimming our horses over a very dangerous place. When we were come in, justice West asked us if we did not see two men riding over the sands: 'I shall have their clothes anon,' said he, 'for they cannot escape drowning, and I am the coroner.' But when we told him that we were the men, he was astonished at it, and wondered how we escaped drowning. Upon this the envious priests and professors raised a slanderous report concerning me, that neither water could drown me, nor could they draw blood of me; and that therefore surely I was a witch (for indeed, sometimes when they beat me with great staves, they did not much draw my blood, though they bruised my body oft-times very sorely). But all these slanders were nothing to me with respect to myself (though I was concerned on the truth's behalf, which, I saw, they endeavoured by these means to prejudice people against), for I considered that their forefathers, the apostate Jews, called the master of the house Beelzebub; and these apostate Christians from the life and power of God, could do no less to his seed. But the Lord's power carried me over their slanderous tongues, and their bloody murderous spirits, who had the

ground of witchcraft in themselves, which kept them from coming to God and to Christ.

Having visited justice West, I went to Swarthmore, visiting friends thereaways; and the Lord's power was over all the persecutors there. And I was moved to write several letters to the magistrates, priests, and professors, thereabouts, who had raised persecution before; that which I sent to justice Sawrey was after this manner:

‘ Friend,

‘ Thou wast the first beginner of all the persecution in the north; thou wast the beginner and the maker of the people tumultuous; thou wast the first stirrer of them up against the righteous seed, and against the truth of God; and wast the first strengthener of the hands of evil doers against the innocent and harmless; and thou shalt not prosper. Thou wast the first stirrer up of strikers, stoners, persecuters, stockers, mockers, and imprisoners in the north, and of revilers, slanderers, railers, and false accusers, and scandal raisers: this was thy work, and this thou stirredst up! so thy fruits declare thy spirit. Instead of stirring up the pure mind in people, thou hast stirred up the wicked, malicious, and envious, and taken hand with the wicked. Thou hast made the people's minds envious up and down the country; this was thy work: but God hath shortened thy days, and limited thee, and set thy bounds, and broken thy jaws, and discovered thy religion to the simple and babes, and brought thy deeds to light. How is thy habitation fallen, and become the habitation of devils! how is thy beauty lost, and thy glory withered! how hast thou shewed thy end, that thou hast served God but with thy lips, and thy heart far from him, and thou in the hypocrisy! how hath the form of thy teaching declared itself to be the mark of the false prophets, whose fruit declares itself! for by their fruits they are known. How are the wise men turned backward! view thy ways, and take notice with whom thou hast taken part. That of God in thy conscience will tell thee; the Ancient of Days will reprove thee. How hath thy zeal appeared to be the blind zeal, a persecutor, which Christ and his apostles forbad Christians to follow! how hast thou strengthened the hands of evil doers, and been a praise to them, and not to them that do well! how like a madman and blind man, didst thou turn thy sword backward against the saints, against whom there is no law! how wilt thou be gnawed and burned one day, when thou shalt feel the flame and have

the plagues of God poured upon thee, and thou begin to gnaw thy tongue for pain, because of the plagues! thou shalt have thy reward according to thy works; thou canst not escape, the Lord's righteous judgment will find thee out, and the witness of God in thy conscience shall answer it. How hast thou caused the heathen to blaspheme, and gone on with the multitude to do evil, and joined hand in hand with the wicked! how is thy latter end worse than thy beginning, who art come with the dog to bite, and art turned as a wolf, to devour the lambs! how hast thou discovered thyself to be a man more fit to be kept in a place to be nurtured, than to be set in a place to nurture! how wast thou exalted and puffed up with pride! and now art thou fallen down with shame, that thou comest to be covered with that which thou stirredst up and broughtest forth. Let not John Sawrey take the words of God into his mouth till he be reformed; let him not take his name into his mouth till he depart from iniquity; let not him and his teacher make a profession of the saints' words, except they intend to proclaim themselves hypocrites, whose lives are so contrary to the lives of the saints; whose church hath made itself manifest to be a cage of unclean birds. You, having a form of godliness, but not the power, have made them that be in the power your derision, your by-word, and your talk at your feasts. Thy ill savour, John Sawrey, the country about have smelled, and of thy unchristian carriage all that fear God have been ashamed; and to them thou hast been a grief: in the day of account thou shalt know it, even in the day of thy condemnation. Thou wast mounted up, and hadst set thy nest on high, but never gottest higher than the fowls of the air; but now thou art run amongst the beasts of prey, and art fallen into the earth, so that earthliness and covetousness hath swallowed thee up; and thy conceitedness would not carry thee through, in whom was found the selfish principle, which hath blinded thy eye. Thy back must be bowed down always, for thy table is already become thy snare.'

G. F.

This justice Sawrey, who was the first persecutor in that country, was afterwards drowned.

I wrote also to William Lampitt, who was the priest of Ulverstone; and thus it was upon me to write unto him:

'The word of the Lord to thee, O Lampitt! who art a deceiver, surfeited and drunk with the earthly spirit,

rambling up and down in the scriptures, and blending thy spirit amongst the saints' conditions: who hadst a prophecy, as thy father Balaam had, but art erred from it, as thy father did; one whose fruit hath withered (of which I am a witness), and many who have known thy fruit, have seen the end of it, that it is withered; and do see where thou art in the blind world, a blind leader of the blind; a beast wallowing and tumbling in the earth, and in the lust, one that is erred from the spirit of the Lord; who art of old ordained for condemnation; who art in the seat of the Pharisees, art called of men master, standest praying in the synagogues, and hast the chief seat in the assemblies; a right hypocrite in the steps of the Pharisees, and in the way of thy fathers, the hypocrites, which our Lord Jesus Christ cried woe against. Such with the light thou art seen to be, and by the light art comprehended; which is thy condemnation, who hatest it, and will be so eternally, except thou repent. To thee this is the word of God: for in Christ's way thou art not, but in the Pharisees, as thou mayest read, Mat. xxiii. and all that own Christ's words may see thee there. Christ, who died at Jerusalem, cried woe against such as thou art; and Christ is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever. The woe remains upon thee, and from under it thou canst never come, but through judgment, condemnation, and true repentance. To thee this is the word of God: to that of God in thy conscience I do speak, which will witness the truth of what I write, and will condemn thee. And when thou art in thy torment (though now thou swellest in thy vanity, and livest in wickedness), remember thou was warned in thy life-time; when the eternal condemnation is stretched over thee, thou shalt witness this to be the word of the Lord God unto thee. And if ever thy eye should see repentance, thou wouldest witness me to have been a friend of thy soul.'

G. F.

Having thus cleared my conscience to the justice, and to the priest of Ulverstone, who had raised the first persecution in that country, it was upon me to send this warning in writing to the people of Ulverstone in general.

'Consider, O people! who be within the parish of Ulverstone; I was moved of the Lord to come into your public places to speak among you, being sent of God to direct your minds to God, that you might know where you might find your teacher; that your minds might be stayed

alone upon God, and you might not gad abroad without you for a teacher; for the Lord God alone will teach his people, and he is coming to teach them, and to gather his people from idols' temples, and from the customary worships, which all the world is trained up in. And God hath given to every one of you a measure of his spirit, according to your capacity; liars, drunkards, whoremongers, and thieves, and who follow filthy pleasures, you all have this measure in you. And this is the measure of the Spirit of God, that shews you sin, and shews you evil, and shews you deceit; which lets you see lying is sin, theft, drunkenness, and uncleanness, all these to be the works of darkness. Therefore mind your measure, (for nothing that is unclean shall enter into the kingdom of God,) and prize your time while you have it, lest the time come that you say with sorrow, we had time, but it is past. Oh, why will ye die! why will ye chuse your own ways! why will ye follow the course of the world! and why will ye follow envy, malice, drunkenness, and foolish pleasures! know ye not in your consciences that all these are evil and sin, and that such as act such things shall never enter into the kingdom of God. Oh that ye would consider, and see how you have spent your time, and mind how ye do spend your time, and observe whom you do serve, for the wages of sin is death. Do not ye know that whatsoever is more than yea and nay, cometh of evil? Oh ye drunkards, who live in drunkenness, do ye think to escape the fire and the judgment of God! though ye swell in venom, and live in lust for a while, yet God will find you out, and bring you to judgment. Therefore love the light, which Christ hath enlightened you withal, who saith, I am the light of the world, and who doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world. One loves the light, and brings his works to the light, and there is no occasion at all of stumbling; the other hates the light, because his deeds are evil, and the light will reprove him. Thou that hatest this light, thou hast it: thou knowest lying is evil, drunkenness is evil, swearing is evil, whoredom, theft, and all ungodliness, and all unrighteousness, is evil: Christ Jesus hath given thee light enough to let thee see this is evil. And this light (if thou lovest it) will teach thee holiness and righteousness, without which none shall see God; but if thou hatest this light, it is thy condemnation. And thus are Christ's words found to be true, and fulfilled among you: you that hate this light, set up hirelings, and idols' temples, and such priests as bear rule by their means; and such shepherds as hold up such things, and such as are called of men masters,

and have the chiefest place in the assemblies, whom Christ cried woe against, Matt. xxiii. And such as go in the way of Cain in envy, and after the error of Balaam for wages, gift, and rewards; these have been your teachers, and these you have held up. But who love the light, are taught of God; and the Lord is coming to teach his people himself, and to gather his from the hirelings, and from such as seek for their gain from their quarter, and from such as bear rule by their means: the Lord is opening the eyes of foolish people, that they shall see such as bear rule over them. But all, whose eyes are shut, are such as the prophet spake of, that have eyes, and see not; but are foolish, upholding such things. Therefore, poor people, as ye love your own souls, consider the love of God to your souls, while ye have time, and do not turn the grace of God into wantonness. That which shews you ungodliness and worldly lusts, that should and would be your teacher, if ye would hearken to it, for the saints of old witnessed the grace of God to be their teacher, which taught them to live soberly and godly in this present world. And ye that are not sober, this grace of God hath appeared unto you, but you turn it into wantonness, and so set up teachers without you, who are not sober, not holy, not godly. Here you are left without excuse, when the righteous judgment of God shall be revealed unto you all who live ungodly. Therefore to the light in you I speak; and when the book of conscience shall come to be opened, then shall you witness what I say to be true, and you all shall be judged out of it. So God Almighty direct your minds (such of you especially who love honesty and sincerity,) that you may receive mercy in the time of need. Your teacher is within you, look not forth; it will teach you both lying in bed, and going abroad, to shun all occasion of sin and evil.'

G. F.

As the foregoing was directed to all the inhabitants of Ulverstone in general, so it was upon me to write also to those more particularly, that did most constantly follow W. Lampitt, the priest, there; and unto these I wrote thus:

'The word of the Lord God to all the people that follow priest Lampitt, who is a blind guide. Ye are such as are turned from the light of Christ within, which he hath enlightened you withal; ye are such as follow that which Christ cried woe against, that goes not in Christ's way, but in the Pharisees' way, as ye may read Mat. xxiii. which

our Lord Jesus Christ cried woe against. He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever : but him ye own not, while ye follow such as he cried woe against ; though under a colour ye make a profession, and Lampitt, your priest, makes a trade of Christ's and the saints' words, as his fathers the pharisees did make a profession of the prophets' words, and of Moses his words. Woe was unto them who had not the life, so woe is unto you who have not the life that gave forth the scriptures, as your fruits have made manifest. For when the Lord hath moved some to come amongst you to preach the truth freely, you have knocked them down, beat, and punched, and haled them out of your assemblies. Such a people serves thee, oh Lampitt, to make a prey upon, and these are thy fruits ; oh let shame, shame, strike thee and you all in the faces, who make a profession of Christ's words, thou and they, and yet are stoners and strikers, and mockers, and scoffers. Let all see if this be not a cage of unclean birds, spoken of in the scriptures, which they who had the life of the scriptures spake of ; and such a company of people thou deceivest, and feedest them with thy fancies, and makest a trade of the scriptures, and takest them for thy cloak. But thou art manifest to all the children of light ; for that cloak will not cover thee, but thy skirts are seen, and thy nakedness appears. And the Lord made one to go naked among you, a figure of thy nakedness, and of your nakedness, and as a sign amongst you, before your destruction cometh ; that you might see that you were naked, and not covered with the truth. To the light in all your consciences I do speak, which Christ Jesus doth enlighten you withal : it will shew you the time you have spent, and all your evil deeds you have done in that time ; who follow such a teacher, that acts contrary to this light, and leads you into the ditch. And when you are in the ditch together, both teacher and people, remember, ye were warned in your life-time. And if ever your eye come to see repentance, and you obey the light of Jesus Christ in you, you will witness me to have been a friend of your souls, and that I have sought your eternal good, and written this in dear love to you. And then will you own your condemnation, which you must all own before ye can come into that blessed life of which there is no end. But ye, who hate the light because your deeds are evil, this light is your condemnation, and will be : and when your condemnation is come upon you, remember ye were warned. Oh that ye would love this light, and hearken to it. It would teach you, both as you walk up and down about

your occasions, and as you lie upon your beds, and would never let you speak a vain word: in loving it you love Christ; in hating it, you bring the condemnation thereof upon yourselves. And to you this is the word of God, from under which you can never pass, nor ever escape the terror of the Lord in the state you are in, who hate the light.'

G. F.

Amongst those who were the chief hearers and followers of this priest Lampitt of Ulverstone, there was one Adam Sands, who was a very wicked false man, and would have destroyed truth and its followers if he could; to him I was moved to write thus:

'Adam Sands,

'To the light in thy conscience I appeal, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of righteousness; the Lord will strike thee down, though now for a while in thy wickedness thou mayest reign: and the plagues of God are due to thee, who hardenest thyself in thy wickedness against the pure truth of God. With the pure truth of God, which thou hast resisted and persecuted, thou art to be threshed down, which is eternal, and doth comprehend thee; and with the light, which thou despisest, thou art seen; and it is thy condemnation. Thou as one brutish, and thy wife as an hypocrite, and you both as murderers of the just, in that which is eternal, are seen and comprehended; and your hearts searched and tried and condemned by the light. The light in thy conscience will witness the truth of what I write to thee; and will let thee see that thou art not born of God, but art from the truth, in the beastly nature: and if ever thy eye see repentance, thou wilt witness me a friend of thy soul, and a seeker of thy eternal good.'

G. F.

[This Adam Sands afterwards died miserably.]

I was moved also to write to priest Tatham.

'The word of the Lord to thee, priest Tatham, who art found out of the doctrine of Christ; having the chiefest place in the assembly, and being called of men, master, and standing praying in the synagogue in the steps of the pharisees, which our Lord Jesus Christ cried woe against. In his way thou art not, but in the way of the scribes and pharisees, as thou mayest read, Mat. 23. There Christ's words judge thee, and the scriptures of truth condemn thee;

for thou art such an one as sues men at the law for tithes, and yet professest thyself to be a minister of Christ, which Christ never impowered his to do; neither did any of his apostles or ministers ever do so. Here I charge thee in the presence of the living God, to be out of their doctrine; and that thou art one of those evil beasts the scripture speaks of, that mindest earthly things, which the life of the scriptures is against. Thou art for destruction in the state wherein thou standest; and it will be thy portion eternally if thou dost not repent. To that of God in thy conscience I speak, which will witness the truth of what I say. Thou art one that goest in Cain's way, in envy, an enemy to God, and from the command of God; thou art one that goest in Balaam's way, from the spirit of God, for gifts and rewards, the wages of unrighteousness. Thou son of Balaam, thou art worse than thy father, for though he loved the wages of unrighteousness, yet he durst not take it; but thou not only takest it, but suest men at the law if they will not give it thee, which never did minister of Jesus Christ; therefore stop thy mouth for ever, and never make mention of them, or profess thyself one of them: with the light thou art seen and comprehended, who art light and vain, and speakest a divination of thy own brain, and deceivest the people. That in thy conscience will witness what I say, and will condemn thee, who art one that bearest rule by thy means, which the Lord sent Jeremiah to cry against, Jer. 5, and so thou holdest up the horrible and filthy thing that is committed in the land. And they that do not tremble at the word of the Lord, they are the foolish people that hold thee up; they are sottish children, and have no understanding; they are wise to do evil, but not to do good, who are deceived by thee. And such an one thou art, that seekest for thy gain from thy quarter, a greedy dumb dog, that never hath enough, as thy practice makes manifest, which the Lord sent Isaiah to cry against, Isa. lvi. 11, 12. And thou art such an one as the Lord sent Ezekiel to cry against, who feedest of the fat, and clothest with the wool, and makest a prey upon the people. But the Lord is gathering his sheep from thy mouth, that to thee they shall be a prey no longer. Thou enemy of God, here this prophecy is fulfilled upon thee, Ezek. 34, and thou art one of them; I charge it upon thee in the presence of the living God: a hireling thou art, and they that put not into thy mouth, thou preparest war against them. Thou hatest the good, and lovest the evil, which the Lord sent Micah to cry against, Mic. iii. Cover thy lips, and stop thy mouth for

ever, thou child of darkness; for with the light thou art comprehended, and seen to be among them which the holy men of God cried woe against; and by the spirit of the living God thou art judged. In the light, which is thy condemnation, thou art comprehended; thy race is seen, and thy compass known, who art out of the commands of Christ, and out of the doctrine and life of the apostles. Thou art proved and tried, and to thee this is the word of the Lord, and to thee it shall be as an hammer, a fire, and a sword, and from under it thou shalt never come, unless thou repent; who art with the light to be condemned in that state wherein thou standest: and if ever thy eye see repentance, this thy condemnation thou must own.'

G. F.

I wrote also to — Burton, priest of Sedbergh, much what to the same purpose, he being in the same evil ground, nature, and practice which the other priests were in. Many other epistles also and papers I wrote about that time, as the Lord moved me thereunto, which I sent abroad among the priests, professors, and people of all sorts, for the laying their evil ways open before them, that they might see and forsake them, and opening the way of truth unto them, that they might come to walk therein; which are too many and large to be inserted in this place.

Now after I had cleared my conscience at that time to the priests and people in those parts near Swarthmore, I went again into Westmoreland; and a company of men with pikes and staves laid wait for me at a bridge in the way, and they light on some friends but missed me. Afterwards they came to the meeting with their pikes and staves; but justice Benson being there, and many considerable people besides, they were prevented from doing that mischief they intended; so they went away in a great rage, but did not hurt any body.

I went from the meeting to Grayrigge, and had a meeting there at Alexander Dixon's house, where the priest (who was a baptist, and a chapel priest) came to the meeting to oppose; but the Lord confounded him by his power; and some of the priest's people tumbled down some milk-pails which stood upon the side of the house, (the house being much crowded); whereupon the priest, after he and his company were gone away, raised a slander, that the devil frightened him, and took away a side of the house while he was in the meeting. And though this was an apparent and known falsehood, yet it served the priests and pro-

fessors to feed on for awhile ; and so shameless they were, that they printed it in a book.

Another time this priest came to another meeting, and fell to jangling. First he said the scriptures were the word of God. I told him they were the words of God, but not Christ, who is the Word ; and bid him prove by scripture what he said. Then he said it was not the scripture that was the word ; and setting his foot upon the bible, he said it was but copies bound up together. Many unsavory words came from him, but after he was gone we had a blessed meeting, and the Lord's power and presence was precious-ly manifested and felt among us. Soon after he sent me a challenge to meet me at Kendal ; I sent him word he need not go so far as Kendal, for I would meet him in his own parish. So the hour being set, we met, and abundance of rude people were gathered there together (besides the baptized people who were his own members) ; and they had intended to have done mischief that day, but God prevented them. Now when we were met, I declared the day of the Lord to them, and directed them to Christ Jesus. Then the priest out with his bible, and said it was the word of God. I told him it was the words of God, but not God, the Word. His answer was, he would prove the scriptures to be the God before all the people. So I let him go on, having a man there that could take down in writing both what he said and what I said. And when he could not prove it (for I kept him to scripture proof, chapter and verse for it) the people gnashed their teeth for anger, and said he would have me anon ; but in going about to prove that one error, he run into many. And when at length he saw he could not prove it, then he said he would prove it a God : so he toiled himself afresh, till he sweat again, but could not prove what he had affirmed. And he and his company were full of wrath ; for I kept his assertions on the head of him and them all, and told them I owned what the scriptures said of themselves, namely, that they were the words of God, but Christ was the Word. So the Lord's power came over all, and they being confounded went away, and the Lord disappointed their mischievous intentions against me ; and friends were established in Christ, and many of the priest's followers saw the folly of their teacher.

After this, as I came through the country visiting friends, priest Bennet of Cartmel sent a challenge to dispute with me : whereupon I came to his steeple-house on the first-day, and there found him preaching. When he had done, I spake to him and his people ; but the priest would not

stand the trial, but went his way. After he was gone, I had a great deal of discourse with the people; and when I was come forth into the steeple-house-yard, and was discoursing further with the professors, and declaring truth unto them, one of them set his foot behind me, and two of them ran against my breast, and threw me down backwards against a grave-stone, wickedly and maliciously seeking to have spoiled me; but I got up again, and was moved of the Lord to speak to them. Then I went up to the priest's house, and desired him to come forth that I might discourse with him, seeing he had challenged me; but he would not at all come out or be seen. So the Lord's power came over them all, which was greatly manifested at that time. There was amongst the priest's hearers one Richard Roper, one of the bitterest professors the priest had; and he was very fierce and hot in his contention; but afterwards he came to be convinced of God's eternal truth, and became a minister thereof, and continued faithful to his death.

It was now about the beginning of the year 1653 when I returned to Swarthmore; and going to a meeting at Gleeston, a professor there challenged a dispute with me: whereupon I went to the house where he was, and called him to come forth; but the Lord's power was over him, so that he durst not meddle. Then I departed thence, and went and visited the meetings of friends in Lancashire, and so back to Swarthmore again: and great openings I had from the Lord, not only of divine and spiritual matters, but also of outward things, relating to the civil government. For being one day in Swarthmore-hall, when judge Fell and justice Benson were talking of the news in the news-book, and of the parliament that was sitting (which was called the Long Parliament) I was moved to tell them, that before that day two weeks the parliament should be broken up, and the speaker plucked out of his chair. And that day two weeks justice Benson coming thither again, told judge Fell that now he saw George was a true prophet, for Oliver had broken up the parliament by that time.

About this time I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on truth's behalf; for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner, and some of his company, had true openings at the first; but getting up into pride and exaltation of spirit, they run out from truth. I was sent for to them, and was moved of the Lord to go, and shew them their goings forth: and they came to see their folly, and condemned it, and came into the

way of truth again. After some time I went to a meeting at Arn-side, where Richard Myer was. Now he had been long lame of one of his arms; and I was moved of the Lord to say unto him, amongst all the people, 'Prophet Myer, stand up upon thy legs' (for he was sitting down): and he stood up, and stretched out his arm that had been lame a long time, and said, 'Be it known unto you, all people, that this day I am healed.' But his parents could hardly believe it; but after the meeting was done, had him aside, and took off his doublet, and then they saw it was true. He came soon after to Swarthmore meeting, and there declared how that the Lord had healed him. Yet after this the Lord commanded him to go to York with a message from him, and he disobeyed the Lord; and the Lord struck him again, so that he died about three quarters of a year after.

Now were great threatenings given forth in Cumberland, that if ever I came there again they would take away my life. When I heard it, I was drawn to go into Cumberland again, and went to one Miles Wennington's, in the same parish from which those threatenings came; but they had not power to touch me then.

Much about this time too it was that Anthony Pearson was convinced, who had been an opposer of friends. He came over to Swarthmore; and I being then at colonel West's, they sent for me; and colonel West said, 'Go, George, for it may be of great service to the man.' So I went, and the Lord's power reached him.

About this time also the Lord opened several mouths to declare the truth to priests and people, so that divers were cast into prison. And I went again into Cumberland, and Anthony Pearson and his wife, and several friends, went along with me to Bootle, where Anthony Pearson left me, and went on himself to Carlisle sessions; for he was a justice of the peace in three counties. Upon the first day of the week I went into the steeple-house at Bootle; and when the priest had done, I began to speak. But the people were exceeding rude, and struck and beat me in the steeple-house yard: one gave me a very great blow over my wrist, so that the people thought he had broken my hand to pieces. The constable was very willing to have kept the peace, and would have set some of them by the heels that struck me, if I would have given way to it. After my service at that time amongst them was over, I went to Joseph Nicholson's house, and the constable went a little way with us to keep off the rude multitude from us. In the afternoon I went up again; and then the priest

had got another priest to help him, one that came from London, and was highly accounted of. Before I went into the steeple-house, I sat a little upon the cross, and friends with me; but the friends were moved to go into the steeple-house, and I went in after them. The London priest was preaching; who gathered up all the scriptures he could think of, that spake of false prophets, and antichrists, and deceivers, and threw them upon us: but when he had done I recollected all those scriptures, and brought them back upon himself. Then the people fell upon me in a rude manner; but the constable charged them to keep the peace, and so made them quiet again. Then the priest began to rage, and said I must not speak there: I told him he had his hour-glass, by which he had preached, and he having done, the time was free for me as well as for him, for he was but a stranger there himself. So I opened the scriptures to them, and let them see that those scriptures, that spake of the false prophets, and antichrists, and deceivers, described them and their generation, and belonged to them who were found walking in their steps, and bringing forth their fruits, and not unto us, who were not guilty of such things. And I manifested to them, that they were out of the steps of the true prophets and apostles; and shewed them clearly by the fruits and marks, that they were of those whom those scriptures spake of, and not we. And I declared the truth, and the word of life to the people, and directed them to Christ their teacher. And all was quiet while I was speaking: but when I had done, and was come forth, the priests were both of them in such a fret and rage, that they foamed at the mouth for anger against me. The priest of the place made an oration to the people in the steeple-house yard, and said, 'This man hath gotten all the honest men and women in Lancashire to him; and now,' said he, 'he comes here to do the same.' Then said I unto him, 'What wilt thou have left? and what have the priests left them, but such as themselves? For if it be the honest that receive the truth, and are turned to Christ, then it must be the dishonest that follow thee, and such as thou art.' Some also of the priest's people did begin to plead for their priest, and for tithes; but I told them it were better for them to plead for Christ, who had ended the tithing-priesthood and the tithes, and had sent forth his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely. So the Lord's power came over them all, and put them to silence, and restrained the rude people, that they could not do the mischief they intended. And when I came down again to Joseph Nicholson's house

I saw a great hole in my coat, which was cut with a knife, but it was not cut through my doublet, for the Lord had prevented their mischief. And the next day there was a rude wicked man would have done violence to a friend, but the Lord's power stopped him.

Now was I moved to send James Lancaster to appoint a meeting at one John Wilkinson's steeple-house near Cockermouth, who was a preacher in great repute, and had three parishes under him; wherefore I staid at Milholm in Bootel till he came back again. In the mean time some of those they called the gentry of the country had made a plot against me, and had given a little boy a rapier, for him to do me a mischief with it. And they came with the boy to Joseph Nicholson's house to seek me; but the Lord had so ordered it, that I was not in the house, but was gone forth into the fields. They met with James Lancaster, but did not much abuse him; and not finding me in the house, after a while they went away again. So I walked up and down in the fields that night, and did not go to bed, as very often I used to do. The next morning we passed from thence, and came the next day to the steeple-house, where James Lancaster had appointed the meeting. There were at this meeting twelve soldiers and their wives, who were come thither from Carlisle; and the country people came in, like as it had been to a fair. I lay at an house somewhat short of the place, so that many friends were got thither before me. And when I came there, I found James Lancaster speaking under a yew tree; which was so full of people that I feared they would break it down. I looked about for a place to stand upon, to speak unto the people; for they lay all up and down like people at a leaguer. But after a while that I was discovered, a professor came to me and asked if I would not go into the church; I seeing there was no place abroad convenient to speak to the people from, told him 'Yes;' whereupon the people rushed in; so that when I came in, the house and pulpit was so full of people that I had much ado to get in; and they that could not get in stood abroad about the walls. When the people were settled, I stood up upon a seat; and the Lord opened my mouth to declare his everlasting truth, and his everlasting day; and to lay open all their teachers, and their rudiments, traditions, and inventions, that they had been in, in the night of apostacy since the apostles' days: and I turned them to Christ the true teacher, and to the true spiritual worship; directing them where to find the spirit and truth, that they might worship God therein. I opened Christ's parables

unto them, and directed them to the Spirit of God in themselves, that would open the scriptures unto them. And I shewed them how all might come to know their Saviour, and sit under his teaching; and come to be heirs of the kingdom of God, and know both God's and Christ's voice, by which they might discover all the false shepherds and teachers they had been under, and be gathered to the true shepherd, priest, bishop, and prophet, Christ Jesus, whom God commanded all to hear. So when I had largely declared the word of life unto them, for about the space of three hours, I walked forth from amongst the people, and the people passed away very well satisfied. Among the rest a professor followed me, praising and commending me; and his words were like a thistle to me: at last I turned about, and bid him fear the Lord: whereupon one priest Larkham of Cockermouth (for several priests were got together on the way who came after the meeting was done) said to me, 'Sir, why do you judge so; you must not judge,' said he. But I turned to him and said, 'Friend, dost not thou discern an exhortation from a judgment?' for I admonished him to fear God; and dost thou say I judge him? So this priest and I falling into discourse, I manifested him to be amongst the false prophets and covetous hirelings. And several people being moved to speak unto them, he and two other of the priests soon got away. When they were gone, John Wilkinson (who was preacher of that parish, and of two other parishes in Cumberland) began to dispute against his own conscience for several hours, till the people generally turned against him; for he thought to have tired me out, but the Lord's power tired him out, and the Lord's truth came over him and them all. And many hundreds were convinced that day, and received the Lord Jesus Christ, and his free teaching, with gladness; of whom some have died in the truth, and many stand there faithful witnesses thereof. The soldiers also were convinced, and their wives, and continued with me till the first-day.

On the first-day I went to the steeple-house at Cockermouth, where priest Larkham lived; and when the priest had done, I began to speak, and the people began to be rude; but the soldiers told them we had broken no law, and then they were quiet. Then I turned me to the priest, and laid him open among the false prophets and hirelings: at which word the priest went his way, and said, 'He calls me hireling;' which was true enough, and all the people knew it. Then some of the great men of the town came to me, and said, 'Sir, we have no learned men to dispute with you.' I told them I came not to dispute, but to de-

clare the way of salvation to them, and the way of everlasting life. And so I declared largely the way of life and truth to them, and directed them to Christ their teacher, that had died for them, and bought them with his blood.

When I had done, I passed away about two miles to another great steeple-house of said John Wilkinson's, called Brigham; where the people, having been at the other meeting, were mightily affected; and would have put my horse into the steeple-house yard; but I said 'No, the priest claims that; have him to an inn.' When I came into the steeple-house yard, I saw the people coming in great companies, as to a fair; and abundance were already gathered in the lanes, and about the steeple-house. I was very thirsty, and walked about a quarter of a mile to a brook, where I got some water, and refreshed myself. And as I came up again, I met the said Wilkinson, who as I passed by him said, 'Sir, will you preach to-day? If you will,' said he, 'I will not oppose you in word or thought.' I replied, 'Oppose if thou wilt; I have something to speak to the people.' 'And,' said I, 'thou carriedest thyself foolishly the other day, and spakest against thy conscience and reason; insomuch that thy hearers cried out against thee.' So I left him, and went on; for he saw it was in vain to oppose, the people were so affected with the Lord's truth. When I came into the steeple-house yard, a professor came to me and asked if I would not go into the church (as he called it). And I seeing no convenient place abroad, to stand to speak unto the people from, went in, and stood up in a seat, after the people were settled. The priest came in also, but did not go up to his pulpit. So the Lord opened my mouth, and I declared his everlasting truth, and word of life to the people; directing them to the Spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know God and Christ, and the scriptures, and come to have heavenly fellowship in the spirit. And I declared to them, that every one that cometh into the world was enlightened by Christ the life; by which light they might see their sins, and Christ, who was come to save them from their sins, and died for them. And if they came to walk in this light, they might therein see Christ to be the author of their faith, and the finisher thereof; their shepherd to feed them, their priest to teach them, and their great prophet to open divine mysteries unto them, and to be always present with them. I opened also unto them, in the openings of the Lord, the first covenant, shewing them the figures, and the substance of those figures; and so bringing them

on to Christ, the new covenant. I also manifested unto them, that there had been a night of apostacy since the apostles' days; but that now the everlasting gospel was preached again, which brought life and immortality to light: and the day of the Lord was come, and Christ was come to teach his people himself by his light, grace, power, and spirit. A fine opportunity the Lord gave me to preach truth among the people that day for about three hours time; and all was quiet. And many hundreds were convinced that day; and some of them praised God and said, 'Now we know the first step to peace.' The said preacher also said privately to some of his hearers, that I had broken them, and overthrown them.

After this I went to a village, and many people accompanied me. And as I was sitting in an house full of people, declaring the word of life unto them, I cast mine eye upon a woman, and I discerned an unclean spirit in her. And I was moved of the Lord to speak sharply to her, and told her she was a witch; whereupon the woman went out of the room. Now, I being a stranger there, and knowing nothing of the woman outwardly, the people wondered at it, and told me afterwards that I had discovered a great thing; for all the country looked upon her to be a witch. The Lord had given me a spirit of discerning, by which I many times saw the states and conditions of people, and could try their spirits. For not long before, as I was going to a meeting, I saw some women in a field, and I discerned them to be witches; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare unto them their conditions, telling them plainly they were in the spirit of witchcraft. At another time there came such an one into Swarthmore-hall in the meeting time; and I was moved to speak sharply to her, and told her she was a witch; and the people said afterwards she was generally accounted so. There came also at another time another woman, and stood at a distance from me, and I cast mine eye upon her, and said, 'Thou hast been an harlot;' for I perfectly saw the condition and life of the woman. The woman answered and said, many could tell her of her outward sins, but none could tell her of her inward. Then I told her her heart was not right before the Lord, and that from the inward came the outward. This woman came afterwards to be convinced of God's truth, and became a friend.

From the aforesaid village we came up to Thomas Bewley's, near Coldbeck, and from thence, having had some service for the Lord there, I passed to a market town, where I had a meeting at the cross; and all was

pretty quiet : and when I had declared the truth unto them, and directed them to Christ their teacher, some received the truth. Then we passed further, and had another meeting upon the borders, in a steeple-house yard, to which many professors and contenders came ; but the Lord's power was over all : and when the word of life had been declared amongst them, some received the truth there also.

From thence passing on we came to Carlisle, and the pastor of the baptists, with most of his hearers came to me there to the abbey, where I had a meeting, and declared the word of life amongst them ; and many of the baptists, and of the soldiers, were convinced. After the meeting was done, the pastor of the baptists (being an high notionist, and a flashy man) came to me, and asked me what must be damned ; I was moved immediately to tell him, that which spake in him was to be damned. This stopped the pastor's mouth ; and the witness of God was raised up in him : and I opened to him the states of election and reprobation, so that he said he never heard the like in his life. He also came afterward to be convinced.

Then went I up to the castle among the soldiers, who beat a drum, and called the garrison together ; and I preached the truth amongst them, directing them to the Lord Jesus Christ to be their teacher, and to the measure of his spirit in themselves, by which they might be turned from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God. And I warned them all, that they should do no violence to any man, but should shew forth a Christian life ; telling them that he who was to be their teacher, would be their condemnation, if they were disobedient to him. So I left them, having no opposition from any of them except the serjeants, who afterwards came to be convinced.

On the market-day I went up into the market to the market-cross. Now the magistrates had both threatened and sent their serjeants ; and the magistrates' wives had said that if I came there they would pluck the hair from off my head, and that the serjeants should take me up. Nevertheless I obeyed the Lord God, and went upon the cross, and there declared unto them, that the day of the Lord was coming upon all their deceitful ways and doings, and deceitful merchandize ; and that they should put away all cozening and cheating, and keep to yea and nay, and speak the truth one to another : so the truth and the power of God was set over them. And after I had declared the word of life to the people, the throng being so great that the ser-

jeants could not get to me, nor the magistrates' wives come at me, I passed away quietly. Many people and soldiers came to me, and some baptists, that were bitter contenders; amongst whom one of their deacons, being an envious man, and finding the Lord's power was over them, cried out for very anger. Whereupon I set my eyes upon him, and spake sharply to him in the power of the Lord; and he cried 'Do not pierce me so with thy eyes; keep thy eyes off me.'

On the first day following I went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done, I preached the truth to the people, and declared the word of life amongst them. The priest got away, and the magistrates desired me to go out of the steeple-house; but I still declared the way of the Lord unto them, and told them, I came to speak the word of life and salvation from the Lord amongst them. The power of the Lord was dreadful amongst them in the steeple-house, so that the people trembled and shook, and they thought the steeple-house shook; and some of them feared it would have fallen down on their heads. The magistrates' wives were in a rage, and strove mightily to have been at me; but the soldiers and friendly people stood thick about me. At length the rude people of the city rose, and came with staves and stones into the steeple-house, crying 'Down with these round-headed rogues:' and they threw stones; whereupon the governor sent a file or two of musketeers into the steeple-house, to appease the tumult, and commanded all the other soldiers out. So those soldiers took me by the hand in a friendly manner, and said they would have me along with them then. When we came forth into the street, the city was in an uproar, and the governor came down; and some of those soldiers were put in prison for standing by me, and for me, against the towns-people. There was a lieutenant, that had been convinced, and he came, and had me to his house, where there was a baptists' meeting, and thither came friends also, and we had a very quiet meeting; and they heard the word of life gladly, and many received it. The next day, the justices and magistrates of the town being gathered together in the town-hall, they granted a warrant against me, and sent for me to come before them. I was then gone to a baptist's house, but hearing of it I went up to the hall to them, where many rude people were, some of whom had sworn strange false things against me. I had a great deal of discourse with the magistrates, wherein I laid open the fruits of their priest's preaching, and shewed them how void they were of Christianity; and that, though

they were such great professors (for they were independents and presbyterians) they were without the possession of that which they professed. So after a large examination they committed me to prison as a blasphemer, an heretic, and a seducer; though they could not justly charge any such thing against me. The jail at Carlisle had two jailers, an upper and an under, which looked like two great bear-wards. Now when I was brought in, the upper jailer had me up into a great chamber, and told me I should have what I would in that room; but I told him he should not expect any money from me, for I would neither lie in any of his beds, nor eat any of his victuals. Then he put me into another room, where after awhile I got something to lie upon. There I lay till the assizes came; and then all the talk and cry was that I was to be hanged. And the high sheriff, whose name was Wilfrey Lawson, stirred them much up to take away my life, and said he would guard me to my execution himself. They were in a black, dark rage, and set three musketeers for guard upon me, one at my chamber door, another at the stairs foot, and a third at the street door: and none they would let come at me, except one sometimes, to bring me some necessary things. At night they would bring up priests to me, sometimes as late as the tenth hour in the night; and they would be exceeding rude and devilish. There were a company of bitter Scotch priests, presbyterians, made up of envy and malice, who were not fit to speak of the things of God, they were so foul-mouthed: but the Lord, by his power, gave me dominion over them all, and I let them see both their fruits and their spirits. Great ladies also (as they were called) came to see the man that they said was to die. Now, while both the judge, justices, and sheriff, were contriving together how they might put me to death, the Lord disappointed their design by an unexpected way; for the judge's clerk (as I was informed) started a question among them, which confounded all their counsels: so that after that they had not power to call me before the judge.

Anthony Pearson being then in Carlisle, and perceiving that they did not intend to bring me (as was expected) upon my trial, he writ a letter to the judges, directed as followeth:

To the Judges of Assize and Jail-delivery for the Northern Parts, sitting at Carlisle.

‘You are raised up to do righteousness and justice, and

sent forth to punish him that doth evil, and to encourage him that doth well, and to set the oppressed free. I am therefore moved to lay before you the condition of him, who is called George Fox, whom the magistrates of this city have cast into prison, for words that he is accused to have spoken, which they call blasphemy. He was sent to the jail, till he should be delivered by due course of law; and it was expected he should have been proceeded against in the common law-course at this assizes. The informations against him were delivered into court; and the act allows and appoints that way of trial. How hardly and unchristianly he hath been hitherto dealt with, I shall not now mention; but you may consider, that nothing he is accused of is nice and difficult. And, to my knowledge, he utterly abhors and detests every particular, which by the act against blasphemous opinions is appointed to be punished; and differs as much from those people against whom the law was made, as light from darkness. Though he be committed, judgment is not given against him; nor have his accusers been face to face, to affirm before him what they have informed against him: nor was he heard as to the particulars of their accusations: nor doth it appear, that any word they charge against him is within the act. But, indeed, I could not yet so much as see the information, no, not in court, though I desired it both of the clerk of the assizes and of the magistrates' clerk: nor hath he had a copy of them. This is very hard: and that he should be so close restrained, that his friends may not speak with him, I know no law nor reason for. I do therefore claim for him a due and lawful hearing, and that he may have a copy of his charge, and freedom to answer for himself; and that rather before you, than to be left to the rulers of this town, who are not competent judges of blasphemy; as by their mittimus appears, who have committed him upon an act of parliament; and mention words as spoken by him at his examination, which are not within the act, and which he utterly denies. The words mentioned in the mittimus he denies to have spoken; and hath neither professed nor avowed them.'

Anthony Pearson.

But notwithstanding this letter, the judges were resolved not to suffer me to be brought before them; but reviling and scoffing at me behind my back, left me to the magistrates of the town; giving them what encouragement they could to exercise their cruelty upon me. Whereupon (though I had been kept up so close in the jailer's house

that friends were not suffered to come at me, and colonel Benson and justice Pearson were denied to see me, yet) the next day, after the judges were gone out of town, an order was sent to the jailer to put me down into the dungeon amongst the moss-troopers, thieves, and murderers, which accordingly he did. A filthy nasty place it was, where men and women were put together in a very uncivil manner, and never a house of office to it; and the prisoners so lousy that one woman was almost eaten to death with lice. Yet, as bad as the place was, the prisoners were all made very loving and subject to me; and some of them were convinced of the truth, as the publicans and harlots were of old; so that they were able to confound a priest, that might come to the grates to dispute. But the jailer was very cruel, and the under-jailer very abusive to me and to friends that came to see me; for he would beat friends with a great cudgel, that did but come to the window to look in upon me. I could get up to the grate, where sometimes I took in my meat, at which the jailer was often offended. One time he came in a great rage, and fell a beating me with a great cudgel, though I was not at the grate at that time; and as he beat me, he cried, 'Come out of the window,' though I was then far enough from it. Now, while he struck me, I was made to sing in the Lord's power, and that made him rage the more. Then he went and fetched a fiddler, and brought him in where I was, and set him to play, thinking to vex me thereby; but while he played, I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, and struck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling and go their ways.

Justice Benson's wife was moved of the Lord to come to visit me, and to eat no meat but what she eat with me at the bars of the dungeon window. She was afterwards herself imprisoned at York, when she was great with child, for speaking to a priest; and was kept in prison, and not suffered to go out, when the time of her travail was come; so she was delivered of her child in the prison. She was an honest tender woman, and continued faithful to the truth until she died.

Whilst I was in the dungeon at Carlisle, one James Parnel, a little lad of about sixteen years of age came to see me, and was convinced: and the Lord quickly made him a powerful minister of the word of life, and many were turned to Christ by him; though he lived not long: for travelling into Essex, in the work of the ministry, in the year 1655, he was committed to Colchester castle, where

he endured very great hardships and sufferings, being put by the cruel jailer into a hole in the castle-wall, called the oven, so high from the ground, that he went up to it by a ladder; which being six feet too short, he was fain to climb from the ladder to the hole by a rope that was fastened above. And when friends would have given him a cord and a basket, to have drawn up his victuals in, the inhuman jailer would not suffer them, but forced him to go down and up by that short ladder and rope, to fetch his victuals, (which for a long time he did) or else he might have famished in the hole. At length, his limbs being much benumbed with lying in that place, yet being constrained to go down to take up some victuals, as he came up the ladder again with his victuals in one hand, and caught at the rope with the other, he missed the rope, and fell down from a very great height upon the stones; by which fall he was exceedingly wounded in his head and arms, and his body much bruised; and he died in a short time after. And when he was dead, the wicked professors, to cover their own cruelty, writ a book of him, and said he fasted himself to death; which was an abominable falsehood, and was manifested so to be by another book, which was written in answer to that, and was called 'The Lamb's Defence against lies.'

Now when I saw that I was not like to be brought forth to a public hearing and trial (although I had before answered in writing the particular matters charged against me, at the time of my first examination and commitment) I was moved to send forth the following paper, as a public challenge to all those, that did belie the truth and me behind my back, to come forth and make good their charge.

'If any in Westmoreland, or Cumberland, or elsewhere, that profess Christianity, and pretend to love God and Christ, are not satisfied concerning the things of God, which I, who am called George Fox, have spoken and declared, let them declare and publish their dissatisfaction in writing, and not back-bite, nor lie, nor persecute, in secret: this I demand of you all in the presence of the living God, as ye will answer it to him. For the exaltation of the truth, and the confounding of the deceit, is this given forth: to that of God in your consciences I speak; declare or write your dissatisfactions to any of them whom you call Quakers, that truth may be exalted, and all may come to the light, with which Christ hath enlightened every one that cometh into the world: that nothing may be hid in darkness, in prisons, holes, or corners, but that all things

may be brought to the light of Christ, and by the light of Christ may be tried. This am I moved of the Lord to write, and send forth to be set upon the market-crosses in Westmoreland, and elsewhere. To the light of Christ in you I speak, that none of you may speak evil of the things of God, which you know not; nor act contrary to the light, that gave forth the scriptures; lest you be found fighters against God, and the hand of the Lord be turned against you.' G. F.

While I thus lay in the dungeon at Carlisle, the report that was raised at the time of the assize, that I should be put to death, was gone out far and near; insomuch that the parliament then sitting (which, I think, was called the little parliament) hearing, that a young man at Carlisle was to die for religion, caused a letter to be sent down to the sheriff and magistrates concerning me. And much about the same time I wrote also to the justices at Carlisle, that had cast me into prison, and that persecuted friends at the instigation of the priests for tithes, expostulating the matter with them thus:

' Friends, Thomas Craston and Cuthbert Studholm,

' Your noise is gone up to London before the sober people: what imprisoning, what gagging, what havock and spoiling the goods of people have you made within these few years, unlike men; as though you had never read the scriptures, or had not minded them! Is this the end of Carlisle's religion; is this the end of your ministry; and is this the end of your church, and of your profession of Christianity? you have shamed it by your folly and madness, and blind zeal. Was it not always the work of the blind guides, watchmen, leaders, and false prophets, to prepare war against them that would not put into their mouths? And have not you been the priests' pack-horses and executioners? When they spur you up, to bear the sword against the just, do not you run on against the creatures, that cannot hold up such, as the scriptures did always testify against? Yet will you lift up your unholy hands, and call upon God with your polluted lips, and pretend a fast, who are full of strife and debate. Did your hearts never burn within you? Did you never come to question your conditions? Are you wholly given up to do the devil's lusts, to persecute? Where is your loving enemies? Where is your entertaining strangers? Where is your overcoming evil with good? Where are your teachers

that can stop the mouths of gainsayers, and can convince gainsayers and such as oppose themselves? Have you no ministers of the Spirit, no soldiers with spiritual weapons displaying Christ's colours? But all the dragon's, the murderer's, the persecutor's arm of flesh; Cain's weapons, chief priests taking counsel; Judas and the multitude with swords and staves; Sodom's company raging about Lot's house, like the priests and princes against Jeremiah; like the dragon, beast and great whore, and the false church, which John saw should cast into prison, and kill, and persecute? Whose weapons are you bearing? doth not the false church, the whore, make merchandize of cattle, corn, wine, and oil, even to the very souls of men? And hath not all this been since the true church went into the wilderness? Read Revelations the 12th, with the 18th: do you not read and see what a spirit you are of, and what a bottomless pit you are in? And have not you dishonoured the place of justice and authority? What! turned your sword backward like madmen, who are a praise to the evil-doer, and would be a terror to the good, with all force and might to stop the way of justice! Doth not the Lord, think you, behold your actions? How many have you wronged? how many have you imprisoned and persecuted, and put out of your synagogues? Are you they that must fulfil the prophecy of Christ, Matt. 23, John 16. Read the scriptures, and see how unlike you are to the prophets, Christ, and his apostles; and what a visage you have, like unto them that persecuted the prophets, Christ, and the apostles. You are found in their steps, wrestling with flesh and blood, and not with principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness, and your teachers imprisoning and persecuting for outward things, you being their executioners; the like whereof hath not been in all the nations. The havock that hath been made, the spoiling of the goods of people, taking away their oxen and fatted beeves, their sheep, corn, wool, and household goods, and giving them to the priests, that have done no work for them; more like moss troopers than ministers of the gospel, they take them from friends, suing them in your courts, and fining them, because they will not break the commands of Christ, that is, because they will not swear. And thus you act against them that do not lift up an hand against you; and as much as you turn against them, you turn against Christ. But he is risen that will plead their cause, and you cannot be hid, for your works are come to light, and the end of your ministry is seen, what it is for, for means. And ye have dishonoured the

truth, the gospel, and are they that make it chargeable; you have lost your glory, you have dishonoured yourselves. Persecution was ever blind and mad; read the apostle, what he saith of himself when he was in your nature. Exaltation and pride, and your lifting up yourselves, hath brought you to this; not being humble, and not doing justice, and not loving mercy. And when such as have been beaten and bruised by your rude company (to whom you are a praise and encouragement) have come, and laid things before you, that you might have done justice, preserved and kept peace, you (as knowing they could not swear) have put an oath to them; and this hath been your trick and cover, that ye might not do justice to the just; but by this means have gone on still further to encourage the evil-doer. But the Lord sees your hearts. If ye were not men past feeling, ye would fear and tremble before him, the God of the whole earth, who is risen, and will stain your glory, and mar your pride, and deface your beauty, and lay it in the dust. Though for a time you may swell in your pride, and glory in your shame, and make a mock of God's messengers, who, for reproving sin in the gate are become your prey, you will feel the heavy hand of God, and his judgments at the last. This is from a lover of the truth and of righteousness, and of your souls; but a witness against all such as make a trade of the prophets', Christ's, and the apostles' words, and are found in the steps of them that persecuted the prophets', Christ's, and the apostles' life; who will persecute them, that will not hold you up, and put into your mouths, and give you means. Tithes were before the law, and tithes were in the law; but tithes since the days of the apostles, have been only since the false church got up. Now Christ, who is come to end the law, and to end war, redeems men out of the tenths and out of the nines also. The redeemed of the Lord shall reign upon the earth, and know the election which was before the world began. Since the days of the apostles, tithes have been set up by the papists, and by them that went forth from the apostles into the world, so set up by the false church, that made merchandize of people, since the true church went into the wilderness. But now is the judgment of the great whore come, and the beast and false prophet (the old dragon) shall be taken and cast into the fire, and the Lamb and his saints shall have the victory. And now is Christ come, who will make war in righteousness, and destroy with the sword of his mouth all these inventors and inventions, that have got up, and been set up since the days of the apostles, and

since the true church went into the wilderness. And the everlasting gospel, which is the power of God, shall be preached again to all nations, and kindred, and tongues, in this the Lamb's day, before whom you shall appear to judgment; and you have no way to escape. For he hath appeared, who is the first and the last, the beginning and the ending, the Alpha and the Omega; he that was dead, is alive again, and lives for evermore !'

I mentioned before, that Gervase Benson and Anthony Pearson, (though they had been justices of the peace) were not permitted to come to me in the prison; whereupon they jointly wrote a letter to the magistrates, priests, and people at Carlisle, concerning my imprisonment; and thus it was :

'Him, who is called George Fox, who is persecuted by rulers and magistrates, by justices, by priests and by people, and who suffers imprisonment of his body at this present, as a blasphemer, and an heretic, and a seducer, him do we witness (who in measure are made partakers of the same life which lives in him) to be a minister of the eternal word of God, by whom the everlasting gospel is preached; by the powerful preaching whereof the eternal Father of the saints hath opened the blind eyes, hath unstopped the deaf ears, hath let the oppressed go free, and hath raised up the dead out of the graves. Christ is now preached in and among the saints, the same that ever he was; and because his heavenly image is borne up in this his faithful servant, therefore doth fallen man (rulers, priests, and people) persecute him; because he lives up out of the fall, and testifies against the works of the world, that the deeds thereof are evil, he suffers by you magistrates; not as an evil-doer. For thus it was ever, where the seed of God was kept in prison under the cursed nature, that nature sought to imprison them, in whom it was raised. The Lord will make him to you as a burdensome stone; for the sword of the spirit of the Almighty is put into the hands of the saints, which shall wound all the wicked, and shall not be cut up till it hath cut down all corrupt judges, justices, magistrates, priests, and professors, till he hath brought his wonderful thing to pass in the earth, which is to make new heavens and a new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousness; which now he is about to do. Therefore fear the Lord God Almighty, ye judges, justices, commanders, priests, and people; ye that forget God, suddenly will the Lord come, and destroy you with an utter

destruction, and will sweep your names out of the earth, and will restore his people judges, as at the first, and counsellors, as at the beginning. And all persecutors shall partake of the plagues of the whore, who hath made the kings of the earth and the great men drunk with the wine of her fornications; and hath drunk the blood of the saints; and therefore shall you be partakers of her plagues. We are not suffered to go to see our friend in prison, whom we witness to be a messenger of the living God. Now all people mind, whether this be according to law, or from the wicked, perverse, envious will of the envious rulers and magistrates, who are of the same generation that persecuted Jesus Christ; for, said he, as they have done to me, so will they do to you. And as he took the love, the kindness and service, that was shewed and performed to any of his afflicted ones in their sufferings and distress, as done unto himself, so the injuries and wrongs that were done by any to any of his little ones, he resented, as done unto himself also. Therefore you, who are so far from visiting him yourselves in his suffering servant, that ye will not suffer his brethren to visit him, ye must depart, ye workers of iniquity, into the lake that burns with fire. The Lord is coming to thresh the mountains, and will beat them to dust; and all corrupt rulers, corrupt officers, and corrupt laws, the Lord will take vengeance on, by which the tender consciences of his people are oppressed. And he will give his people his law, and will judge his people himself, not according to the sight of the eye, and hearing of the ear, but with righteousness, and with equity. Now are your hearts made manifest to be full of envy against the living truth of God, which is made manifest in his people, who are contemned and despised of the world, and scornfully called Quakers. You are worse than the heathens, that put Paul in prison, for none of his friends or acquaintance were hindered to come to him by them; therefore they shall be witnesses against you. Ye are made manifest to the saints, to be of the same generation that put Christ to death, and that put the apostles in prison on the same pretence as you act under, in calling truth error, and the ministers of God blasphemers as they did. But the day is dreadful and terrible, that shall come upon you, ye evil magistrates, priests and people, who profess the truth in words outwardly, and yet persecute the power of truth, and them that stand in and for the truth. While ye have time prize it, and remember what is written Isa. liv. 17.

George Benson,
Anthony Pearson.

Not long after this, the Lord's power came over the justices, and they were made to set me at liberty. But sometime before I was set at liberty, the governor, and the said Anthony Pearson, came down into the dungeon to see the place where I was kept, and understand what usage I had. And when they were come down to me, they found the place so bad, and the savour so ill, that they cried shame of the magistrates for suffering the jailer to do such things; and they called for the jailers into the dungeon, and required them to find sureties for their good behaviour; and the under-jailer, who had been such a cruel fellow, they put into the dungeon with me, amongst the moss-troopers.

Now after I was set at liberty, I went to Thomas Bewley's, where there came a baptist teacher to oppose me; and he was convinced. And Robert Widders being with me, was moved to go to Coldbeck steeple-house, and the baptist teacher went along with him the same day. And the people fell upon them, and almost killed Robert Widders, and took the baptist's sword from him, and beat him sorely. This baptist had the inheritance of an impropriation of tithes; and he went home, and gave it up freely. Robert Widders was sent to Carlisle jail, where having lain a while, he was set at liberty again. William Dewsberry also went to another steeple-house hard by, and the people almost killed him, they beat him so; but the Lord's power was over all, and healed them again. At that day many friends went to the steeple-houses, to declare the truth to the priests and people, and great sufferings they underwent; but the Lord's power sustained them.

Now I went into the country, and had mighty great meetings, and the everlasting gospel and word of life flourished, and thousands were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to his teaching. And several that took tithes, as impropriators, denied the receiving of them any longer, and delivered them up freely to the parishioners. Then passing on into Westmoreland, I had many great meetings; and at Strickland-head I had a large meeting, where a justice of peace out of Bishoprick, whose name was Henry Draper, came up, and many contenders were there. The priests and magistrates were in a great rage against me in Westmoreland, and had a warrant to apprehend me, which they renewed from time to time, for a long time; yet the Lord did not suffer them to serve it upon me. So I travelled on amongst friends, visiting the meetings till I came to Swarthmore, where I heard that the baptists and pro-

fessors in Scotland had sent to me to have a dispute with me. Whereupon I sent them word, that I would meet them in Cumberland at Thomas Bewley's house, whither accordingly I went, but none of them came. Some dangers at this time I underwent in my travels to and fro; for at one time, as we were passing from a meeting, and going through Wighton on a market-day, the people of the town had set a guard with pitch-forks; and although some of their own neighbours were with us, they kept us out of the town, and would not let us pass through the town, under a pretence of preventing the sickness; though there was no occasion for any such thing. However they fell upon us, and had like to have spoiled us and our horses; but the Lord did restrain them, that they did not much hurt, and we passed away. Another time, as I was passing between two friends' houses, some rude fellows lay in wait in a lane, and exceedingly stoned and abused us; but at last, through the Lord's assistance, we got through them, and had not much hurt. But this shewed the fruits of the priest's teaching, which shamed their profession of Christianity.

Now, after I had visited friends in that county, I went through the countries into Bishoprick, having large meetings by the way; and a very large meeting I had at Anthony Pearson's, where many were convinced. From thence I passed through Northumberland to Darren-water, where there were great meetings; and the priests threatened that they would come, but none came. The everlasting word of life was freely preached, and freely received, and many hundreds were turned to Christ, their teacher.

In Northumberland there came many to dispute, of whom some pleaded against perfection, unto whom I declared, that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and all that God made was perfect; and that the imperfection came by the devil, and the fall; but Christ, that came to destroy the devil, said, Be ye perfect. Then one of the professors said, that Job said, Shall mortal man be more pure than his Maker? The heavens are not clear in his sight. God charged his angels with folly. But I shewed him his mistake, and let him see, that it was not Job that said so, but one of those that contended against Job; for Job stood for perfection, and held his integrity; and they were called miserable comforters. Then these professors said, the outward body was the body of death and sin. I shewed them their mistake in that also; shew-

ing them, that Adam and Eve had each of them an outward body, before the body of death and sin got into them; and that man and woman will have bodies, when the body of sin and death is put off again; when they are renewed up into the image of God again by Christ Jesus, which they were in before they fell. So they ceased at that time from opposing further; and glorious meetings we had in the Lord's power.

Then passed we on to Hexham, where we had a great meeting at top of an hill; the priest threatened that he would come and oppose us, but he came not, so that all was quiet: and the everlasting day, and renowned truth of the everliving God was sounded over those dark countries, and his Son exalted over all. And it was proclaimed amongst the people that the day was now come, wherein all that had made a profession of the Son of God, might receive him; and that to as many as would receive him, he would give power to become the sons of God, as he had done to me. And it was further declared, that he that had the son of God, he had life eternal; but he that had not the son of God (though he professed all the scriptures, from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelations) he had not life. So after that all were directed to the light of Christ, by which they might see him and receive him, and know where their true teacher was, and the everlasting truth had been largely declared amongst them, we passed away through Hexham peaceably, and came into Gilsland, a country noted for thieving.

Here a friend spying the priest, went to speak to him; whereupon the priest came down to our inn, and the town's people gathered about us. The priest said he would prove us deceivers out of the bible, but could find no scripture for his purpose. Then he went into the inn; and after a while came out again, and brought some broken sentences of scripture, that mention the doctrines and commandments of men, &c. and touch not, taste not, &c. for they perish with the using; all which (poor man) was his own condition; whereas we were persecuted, because we would not taste, nor touch, nor handle their doctrines and traditions, which we knew perished with the using. I asked him what he called the steeple-house; Oh, said he, the dreadful house of God, the temple of God. Then I shewed him, and the poor dark people, that their bodies should be the temples of God; and that Christ never commanded these temples, but ended that temple at Jerusalem, which God had commanded. While I was speaking, the priest got

away; and afterwards the people made, as if they feared, we would take their purses, or steal their horses; judging us like themselves, who are naturally given to thieving.

The next day we came through the country into Cumberland again, where we had a general meeting of many thousands of people a top of an hill near Langlands. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was; for the glory of the Lord did shine over all; and there were as many as one could well speak over, the multitude was so great. Their eyes were fixed on Christ their teacher; and they came to sit under their own vine; insomuch that Francis Howgill, coming afterwards to visit them, found they had no need of words; for they were sitting under their teacher Christ Jesus; in the sense whereof, he sate down amongst them, without speaking any thing. A great convincement there was in Cumberland, Bishoprick, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire; and the plants of God grew, and flourished so, the heavenly rain descending, and God's glory shining upon them, that many mouths were opened by the Lord to his praise; yea, to babes and sucklings he ordained strength.

After my release from Carlisle prison, I was moved to go to priest Wilkinson's steeple-house again; and I being got into the steeple-house before him, when he came in, I was declaring the truth to the people, though they were but few; for the most and the best of his hearers were turned to Christ's free teaching; and we had a meeting of friends hard by, where one Thomas Stubbs was declaring the word of life amongst them. As soon as the priest came in, he opposed me; and there did we stay most part of the day; for when I began he opposed me; so if any law was broken, he broke it. And when his people would be haling me out, I manifested his fruits to be such, as Christ spake of, when he said, they shall hale you out of their synagogues; and then he would be ashamed, and they would let me alone. There did he stand till it was almost night, jangling and opposing me, and would not go to his dinner; for he thought to have wearied me out. But at last, the Lord's power and truth came so over him, that he packed away with his people. Then when he was gone, I went to the meeting of friends, who were turned to the Lord, and established by his power upon Christ, the rock and foundation of the true prophets and apostles, but not of the false.

About this time the priests and professors fell to prophesying against us afresh. They had said long before, that we should be destroyed within a month; and after

that, they prolonged that time to half a year ; but that time being long expired, and we mightily increased in number, they now gave forth, that we would eat out one another. For many times after meetings, many tender people having a great way to go, tarried at friends' houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lodge in ; so that some have lain on the hay-mows ; hereupon Cain's fear possessed the professors and world's people. For they were afraid, that when we had eaten one another out, we would all come to be maintained by the parishes, and so we should be chargeable to them. But after a while, when they saw that the Lord blessed and increased friends, as he did Abraham, both in the field and in the basket, at their goings forth and comings in, at their risings up and lyings down, and that all things prospered with them, then they saw the falseness of all their prophecies against us ; and that it was in vain to curse, where God had blessed. At the first convincement, when friends could not put off their hats to people, nor say you to a single person, but thou and thee, nor could not bow, nor use flattering words in salutations, nor go into the fashions and customs of the world, many friends, that were tradesmen of several sorts, lost their customers at the first ; for the people were shy of them, and would not trade with them ; so that for a time some friends that were tradesmen, could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterwards, when people came to have experience of friends' honesty and faithfulness, and found that their yea was yea, and their nay was nay ; that they kept to a word in their dealings, and that they would not cozen and cheat them, but that if they sent any child to their shops for any thing, they were as well used as if they had come themselves ; the lives and conversations of friends did preach, and reached to the witness of God in people. And then things altered so, that all the inquiry was, where was a draper, or shop-keeper, or taylor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman, that was a Quaker ? Then that was all the cry, insomuch that friends had more trade than many of their neighbours, and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. And then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, if we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands. This hath been the Lord's doings to and for his people ; which my desire is, that all, who profess his holy truth, may be kept truly sensible of, and that all may be preserved in and by his power and spirit, faithful to God and man ; first to God, in obeying him in all things ; and then in doing unto all men, that

which is just and righteous, true and holy, and honest, to all men and women in all things, that they have to do or deal with them in; that the Lord God may be glorified in their practising truth, holiness, Godliness, and righteousness, amongst people in all their lives and conversations.

Now friends being grown very numerous in the northern parts of this nation, and divers young-convinced ones coming daily in among us, I was moved of the Lord to write the following epistle, and send it forth amongst them, for the stirring up the pure mind, and raising an holy care and watchfulness in them over themselves, and one another, for the honour of truth.

To you all, Friends every where, scattered abroad.

“ In the measure of the life of God wait for wisdom from God, even from him, from whence it comes. And all ye, who be babes of God, wait for the living food from the living God, to be nourished up to eternal life, from the one fountain, from whence life comes; that orderly and in order ye may all be guided and walk; servants in your places, young men and young women in your places, and rulers of families, that every one, in your respective places may adorn the truth, every one in the measure of it. With it let your minds be kept up to the Lord Jesus, from whence it doth come, that a sweet savour ye may be to God, and in wisdom ye may all be ordered and ruled, that a crown and a glory ye may be one to another in the Lord. And that no strife, nor bitterness, nor self-will, may appear amongst you; but with the light, in which the unity is, all that may be condemned. And that every one in particular may see to, and take care of, the ordering and ruling of their own family; that in righteousness and wisdom it may be governed, the fear and dread of the Lord in every ones heart set, that the secrets of the Lord every one may come to receive, that stewards of his grace you may come to be, to dispense it to every one as they have need, and so in savouring and right-discerning you may all be kept; that nothing, that is contrary to the pure life of God, may be brought forth in you, or among you, but all that is contrary to it, may by it be judged; so that in light, in life, and love, ye may all live, and all that is contrary to the light, and life, and love, may be brought to judgment, and by that light condemned. And that no fruitless trees be among you, but all cut down and condemned by the light,

and cast into the fire; so that every one may bear and bring forth fruit to God, and grow fruitful in his knowledge, and in his wisdom. And so that none may appear in words beyond what they be in the life, that gave forth the words. Here none shall be as the untimely figs, and none shall be of those trees whose fruit withers; such go in Cain's way, from the light, and by it are condemned. And that none amongst you boast yourselves above your measure, for if you do, out of God's kingdom you are excluded; for in that boasting part gets up the pride, and the strife, which is contrary to the light; which light leads to the kingdom of God, and gives every one of you an entrance thereinto, and an understanding to know the things that belong to the kingdom of God. And there the light and life of man every one receives, him who was, before the world was, by whom it was made, who is the righteousness of God, and his wisdom; to whom all glory, honour, thanks, and praise, belongs, who is God blessed for ever. Let no image nor likeness be made; but in the light wait, which will bring condemnation on that part that would make the images, for that prisons the just. So to the lust yield not the eye, nor the flesh, for the pride of life stands in that which keeps out of the love of the Father; and upon which his judgments and wrath remains, where the love of the world is sought after, and a crown that is mortal; in which ground the evil enters, which is cursed; which brings forth bryars and thorns, where the death reigns, and tribulation and anguish is upon every soul, and the Egyptian tongue is heard; all which is by the light condemned. And there the earth is, which must be removed: by the light it is seen, and by the power it is removed, and out of its place it is shaken, to which the thunders utter their voices, before the mysteries of God be opened, and Jesus revealed. Therefore all ye, whose minds are turned to this light (which brings condemnation upon all those things before-mentioned, that are contrary to the light) wait upon the Lord Jesus for the crown, that is immortal, and that fadeth not away.'

G. F.

[This is to be sent amongst all Friends in the truth, the flock of God, to be read at their meetings in every place, where they are met together.]

While yet friends abode in the northern parts, a certain priest of Rexham in Wales, whose name was Morgan Floyd, having heard reports concerning us, sent two of

his congregation into the north to inquire concerning us, and to try us, and bring him an account concerning us. But when these triers came down amongst us, the power of the Lord seized on them, and they were both convinced of the truth. So they staid some time with us, and then returned back to Wales, where afterwards one of them departed from his conviction; but the other, whose name was John-ap-John, abode in the truth, and received a part of the ministry, in which he continued faithful.

Now were the priests in a great rage at Newcastle, and at Kendal, and up and down in most of the northern counties. And there being one Gilpin, that had sometimes come amongst us at Kendal, and soon run out from the truth into vain imaginations, the priests made what evil use they could of him against us; but the Lord's power confounded them all. And the Lord God cut off two of those persecuting justices at Carlisle; and the other, after a time, was turned out of his place, and went out of the town.

About this time also the oath or engagement to O. Cromwell was tendered to the soldiers; and many of the soldiers were disbanded, because in obedience to Christ they could not swear; as John Stubbs for one, who was convinced when I was in Carlisle prison, and became a good soldier in the Lamb's war, and a faithful minister of Christ Jesus, travelling much in the service of the Lord in Holland, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Egypt, and America: and the Lord's power preserved him out of the hands of the papists, though many times he was in great danger of the inquisition. But some of the soldiers who had been convinced in their judgments, but had not come into obedience to the truth, took O. Cromwell's oath; and going afterwards into Scotland, and coming before a garrison there, the garrison thinking they had been enemies, fired at them, and killed divers of them; which was a sad judgment.

Now when the churches were settled in the North, and friends were sate down under Christ's teaching, and the glory of the Lord shined over them, I passed from Swarthmore to Lancaster (about the beginning of the year 1654) and so through the countries, visiting friends till I came to Synder-hill-green, where there was a meeting appointed three weeks before; leaving the North fresh and green, under Christ their teacher. But before I came to Synder-hill-green, we passed through Halifax, a rude town of professors, and came to one Thomas Taylor's, who had been a captain, where we met with some janglers; but the

Lord's power was over all, for I travelled in the motion of God's power. And when I came to Synder-hill-green, there was a mighty meeting, some thousands of people, (as it was judged) and many persons of note were there, as captains and other officers; and there was a general conviction; for the Lord's power and truth was set over all, and there was no opposition.

About this time did the Lord move upon the spirits of many, whom he had raised up, and sent forth to labour in his vineyard, to travel southwards, and spread themselves in the service of the gospel to the eastern, southern, and western parts of the nation; as Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough to London; John Camm and John Audland to Bristol, through the countries; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead towards Norwich; Thomas Holmes into Wales, and others otherways; for above sixty ministers had the Lord raised up, and did now send abroad out of the north country. And the sense of their service being very weighty upon me, I was moved to give forth the following paper, directed thus:

' To Friends in the Ministry.

' All friends every where, know the seed of God, which bruise the seed of the serpent, and is a top of the seed of the serpent, which seed sins not; but bruise the serpent's head, that doth sin, and tempts to sin: which seed God's promise and God's blessing is to; which seed is one in the male and in the female. Where it is head, and hath bruised the head of the other, to the beginning you are come; and the younger is known, and he that is servant to the younger. And the promise of God, which is to the seed, is fulfilled and fulfilling; and the scriptures come to be opened and owned: and the flesh of Christ known, who took upon him the seed of Abraham according to the flesh; the everlasting priesthood known, the everlasting covenant. Christ takes upon him the seed of Abraham, and is a priest after the order of Melchizedek; him that is without father, without mother, without beginning of days (mark) or end of life: this is the priest that ever lives; he that is the covenant of life, of light and peace. And the everlasting offering here is known once for all, which offering overthrows that nature which offered; out of which the priesthood arose, that could not continue by reason of death. And here is the other offering known, the everlasting offering, which perfects for ever them that are sanctified; which offering blotted out the hand-writing

of ordinances, triumphs over them, and ascends above all principalities and powers. Now he that hath the spirit of Jesus sees this; and here is the love of God received, that doth not rejoice in iniquity, but leads to repent of it. So this is the word of the Lord God to you all, friends every where abroad scattered, know the power of God in one another, and in that rejoice; for then you rejoice in the cross of Christ, who is not of the world; which cross is the power of God to all them that are saved. So you, that know the power, and feel the power, you feel the cross of Christ, you feel the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Now, he that believes in the light, believes in the everlasting covenant, in the one offering, comes to the life of the prophets and Moses, comes to see Christ the hope, the mystery, which hope perisheth not, but lets you see the hope that perisheth, which is not that mystery; and the expectation in that perishing hope fades. And where this never-failing hope is witnessed, the Lord comes to be sanctified in the heart, and you come to the beginning, to Christ the hope, which perisheth not; but the other hope, and the other expectation that perisheth. So all of you know the perishing of the other, and the failing of the expectation therein; and know that which perisheth not; that you may be ready to give a reason of this hope with meekness and fear, to every man that asketh you. Christ the hope, the mystery, that perisheth not; the end of all perishing things, the end of all changeable things, the end of the decaying covenant, the end of that which waxeth old and doth decay; the end of the first covenant of Moses and of the prophets; the righteousness of God, Christ Jesus the Son: his throne ye will know, heirs with him ye will be; who makes his children kings and priests to him, and brings them to know his throne and his power. There is no justification out of the light, out of Christ: justification is in the light in Christ: here is the doer of the will of God, here is the entering into the kingdom. He that believes in the light, becomes a child of light; and here the wisdom is received that is justified of her children. Here believing in the light, you shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of life; and come every one to witness the light that shines in your hearts, which light will give you the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ. With which light you will see him reign, who is the prince of life and of peace; which light turns from him, that is out of the truth, and abode not in it; where the true peace is not.

‘ Friends, be not hasty ; for he that believes in the light, makes not haste. Here the grace is received, by which you come to be saved ; the election is known, which obtains the promise : the will is seen that wills, the mind is known that runs, which obtains not ; but stops and dulls. Now, that with the light being seen, and judged, and stopped, the patience is here known, which obtains the crown ; and the immortality is come to light. So all they now that act contrary to the light, and do not believe in it, they do not come to justification. And all friends, if you go from the light, from wanting to have the promise of God fulfilled to the seed, whereby you may know Christ reign, you thereby bring on yourselves changeable garments, and come to wear the changeable garments, and the strange flesh, which leads to adultery, which the law goes upon, which shuts out of the kingdom : and out of this will doth proceed the work or building, that is for the fire ; whereby you may come to suffer loss. Therefore the light love, which doth that condemn, and receive the power from the Lord, with which you stand over that, and do it condemn ; feeling and seeing that which gives you the victory over the world, and to see out of time to before time. And again, friends, know Abraham, that must obey the voice of Sarah, that bears seed ; which casts forth the bond-woman and her son : do not go forth, there will the wildness lodge. Know that which bears the wild son, and its mother, who is not Sarah : for the promise is to the seed, not of many, but one, which seed is Christ : and this seed now you come to witness stand on the top of all, yea, on the head of the serpent. And so all (as I said before) who this come to feel and witness, come to the beginning ; and this to all the seed of God, the church, that it you all may come to know, where there is no blemish, nor spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing ; which is that which is purchased by the blood of Jesus, and to the Father presented out of all that does defile ; which is the pillar and ground of truth. And none comes to this, but such who come to the light, which doth come from Christ, who purchased this church. They who go from the light are shut out and condemned, though they profess all the scriptures declared forth from it. Therefore walk in the light, that you may have fellowship with the Son, and with the Father ; and come all to witness his image, and his power, and his law, which is his light, which hath converted your souls, and brought them to submit to the higher power, above that which is out of the truth : that you may know here the mercy and truth, and the faith

that works by love, which Christ is the author of, who lighteth every one of you; which faith gives the victory. Now that which gives the victory is perfect; and that which the ministers of God received from God, is that which is perfect; and that which they are to minister is for the perfecting of the saints, till they all come in the unity of the faith unto a perfect man. So this is the word of the Lord God to you all; every one in the measure of life wait, that with it all your minds may be guided up to the Father of Life, the Father of Spirits; all to receive power from him, and wisdom, that with it you may be ordered to his glory; to whom be all glory for ever! All keep in the light and life, that judgeth down that which is contrary to the light and life. So the Lord God Almighty be with you all. And keep your meetings every where, being guided by that of God; by that you may see the Lord God among you, even him who lighteth every man that cometh into the world: by whom the world was made; that men, that be come into the world, might believe. He that believeth not, the light condemns him: he that believeth, cometh out of condemnation. So this light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, which they that hate it stumble at, this is the light of men.

‘ All friends, that speak abroad, see that it be in the life of God; for that begets to God: the fruits of that shall never wither. And this sows to the spirit, which is in prison; and of the spirit reaps life (to you this is the word of the Lord God) and the other sows to the flesh, and of the flesh reaps corruption. And this you may see all the world over, amongst these seeds-men, what may be reaped in the field, that is, the world. Therefore in the spirit of the Lord God wait, which cuts down and casts out all this, the root and branches of it. So in that wait to receive power, and the Lord God Almighty preserve you in it; whereby you may come to feel the light, that comprehends time, and the world, and fathoms it; which believed in, gives you the victory over the world. And here the power of the Lord is received, which subdues all the contrary, and puts off the garments that will stain and pollute. With which light you come to reach the light in every man, which Christ enlightens every man, that cometh into the world, withal: and here the things of Christ come to be known, and the voice of Christ heard. Therefore keep in the light, the covenant of peace; and walk in the covenant of life. There is that which maketh merry over the witness of God; and there is that which maketh merry in the Lord; which rejoiceth over that which hath made

merry over it: of that take notice, you who be in the light. Such the Lord doth beautify, whose trust is in his strength: and the Lord doth see such, and them that be in his light. But such as be from the light, whose eyes be after their abominations and idols, their eyes are to be blinded; and their beautiful idols, and their abominations to be destroyed, and by the light condemned, which they have made from the life, in their own strength; which with the light is seen, and overthrown by the power of God. If you can change my covenant, saith the Lord, which keeps the day in its season, and the night in its season (mark, my covenant, the light); if you can change this, then may you change the covenant of God with his seed. So all friends, that be turned to the light, which cometh from him, by whom the world was made, who was, before it was made, Christ Jesus, the Saviour of your souls; abide in the light, and you will see your salvation to be walls and bulwarks against that, which the light discovers to be contrary to it. Waiting in the light, you will receive the power of God, which is the gospel of peace; that you may be shod with it. And know that in one another, which raiseth up the seed of God, and sets it over the world and the earth, and crucifies the affections and lusts: and then the truth comes to reign, which is the girdle.'

G. F.

About this time Rice Jones of Nottingham (who had been a baptist, and was turned ranter; the same that came to me in Derby jail) he and his company began to prophecy against me, giving out that I was then at the highest, and that after that time I should fall down as fast. And he sent a bundle of railing papers from Nottingham to Mansfield, Clauson, and the towns thereabouts, judging friends for declaring the truth in the markets and in the steeple-houses, which papers I answered. But his and his company's prophecies came upon themselves; for soon after they fell to pieces, and many of his followers came to be friends, and continued so. And through the Lord's blessed power, truth and friends have increased, and do increase in the increase of God: and I by the same power have been and am preserved, and kept in the everlasting seed, that never fell, nor changes. But Rice Jones took the oaths that were put to him, and so disobeyed the command of Christ. Many such false prophets have risen up against me, but the Lord hath blasted them, and will blast them all who rise against the blessed seed, and me in that. My

confidence is in the Lord ; for whosoever did, I saw their end, and how the Lord would confound them, before the Lord sent me forth.

Now was I at Synder-hill-Green, where I had had a large meeting in the day time ; and at night we had a great meeting again in Thomas Stacy's house ; for people came from far, and could not soon depart. The high sheriff of the county told captain Bradford, that he intended to have come up with half a dozen of his troopers to the meeting ; but the Lord prevented him, and stopped him. When I had stayed some meetings thereabouts, I travelled up and down in Yorkshire, as far as Holderness, and to the land's end that way, visiting friends and the churches of Christ ; which were finely settled under Christ's teaching. At length I came to captain Bradford's house, whither many ranters came from York to wrangle ; but they were confounded, and stopped. Thither came she also, who was called the lady Montague, who was then convinced, and lived and died in the truth.

Then I came again to Thomas Taylor's, within three miles of Halifax, where there was a large meeting of about two hundred people ; amongst which were many rude people, and divers butchers, several of whom had bound themselves with an oath before they came out, that they would kill me (as I was told) : one of those butchers had been accused for killing a man and a woman. They came in a very rude manner, and made a great disturbance in the meeting. The meeting being in a close, Thomas Taylor stood up, and said unto them, ' If you will be civil, you may stay, but if not, I charge you to be gone from off my ground.' But they were the worse, and said they would make it like a common ; and they yelled, and made such a noise, as if they had been come to a bear-baiting. And they thrust friends up and down ; and friends being peaceable, the Lord's power came over them. Several times they thrust me off from the place I stood on, by the crowding of the people together against me ; but still I was moved of the Lord to stand up again, as I was thrust down. At last I was moved of the Lord to say unto them, if they would discourse of the things of God, let them come up to me one by one ; and if they had any thing to say, or to object, I would answer them all, one after another : then they were all silent, and had nothing to say. And then the Lord's power came so over them all, and answered the witness of God in them, that they were bound by the power of God ; and a glorious powerful meeting we had, and his power went over all, and the minds of

people were turned by the Spirit of God in them to God, and to Christ their teacher. And the powerful word of life was largely declared that day; and in the life and power of God we brake up our meeting; and that rude company went their way to Halifax. The people asked them why they did not kill me, according to the oath they had sworn; and they maliciously answered, that I had so bewitched them, that they could not do it: thus was the devil chained at that time. Friends told me that they used to come at other times, and be very rude and unruly; and sometimes break their stools and seats, and make fearful work amongst them; but the Lord's power had now bound them. Shortly after this, that butcher, that had been accused of killing a man and a woman before, and who was one of them that had then bound himself by an oath to kill me, killed another man, and was thereupon sent to York jail. Another of those rude butchers, who had also sworn to kill me, having accustomed himself to thrust his tongue out of his mouth, in derision of friends, when they passed by him, had his tongue so swollen out of his mouth, that he could never draw it in again, but died so. Several strange and sudden judgments came upon many of these conspirators against me, which would be too large here to declare. God's vengeance from heaven came upon the blood-thirsty, who sought after blood: for all such spirits I laid before the Lord, and left them to him to deal with them, who is stronger than them all; in whose power I was preserved, and carried on to do his work. The Lord hath raised a fine people in those parts, whom he hath drawn to Christ, and gathered in his name; who feel Christ amongst them, and sit under his teaching.

After this I passed through the countries till I came to Balby; from whence several friends went with me into Lincolnshire, where I had formerly been; of whom some went to the steeple-houses, and some to private meetings. There came to the meeting where I was, the sheriff of Lincoln, and several with him, who made a great contention and jangling for a time. But at length the Lord's power struck him, that he was convinced of the truth, and received the word of life, as did several others also that did oppose, and continued among friends till they died. Great meetings there were, and a large convincement in those parts; many were turned to the Lord Jesus, and came to sit under his teaching; leaving their priests, and their superstitious ways; and the day of the Lord flourished over all. Amongst them that came to our meetings in that country, there was one called Sir Richard Wrey, and he

was convinced ; as was also his brother, and his brother's wife, who abode in the truth, and died therein, though he afterwards run out.

Having visited those countries, I came into Derbyshire ; and the sheriff of Lincoln, who was lately convinced, came with me. In one meeting we had some opposition, but the Lord's glorious power gave dominion over all. At night there came a company of bailiffs and serving-men, and called me out ; so I went out to them, having some friends with me. When I was come out, they were exceeding rude and violent ; for they had, it seems, conspired together, and intended to have carried me away with them in the dark of the evening by force ; and then to have done me a mischief : but the Lord's power went over them, and chained them, so that they could not effect their design ; and at last they went away. The next day, Thomas Aldam understanding that the serving-men belonged to one called a knight (who lived not far off) went to his house, and laid before him the bad carriage of his servants ; and the knight seemed to rebuke them, and did not allow of their evil carriage towards us.

After this we came into Nottinghamshire to Skegby, where we had a great meeting of all sorts of people : and the Lord's power went over them, and all was quiet ; and the people were turned to the Spirit of God, by which many came to receive his power, and to sit under the teaching of Christ their Saviour. A great people the Lord hath that away.

Then I passed towards Kidsley Park, where there came many ranters ; but the Lord's power checked them. From thence I went up into the Peak country towards Thomas Hammersly's, where there came the ranters of that country, and many high professors. The ranters opposed me, and fell a swearing ; and when I reprov'd them for swearing, they would bring scripture for it, and said, Abraham, and Jacob, and Joseph swore ; and the priests and Moses, and the prophets swore, and the angels swore. Then I told them, I did confess all these did so, as the scripture records ; but, said I, Christ (who said, " Before Abraham was, I am ") saith, " Swear not at all." And Christ ends the prophets, and the old priesthood, and the dispensation of Moses, and reigns over the house of Jacob and of Joseph ; and he says, " Swear not at all." And God, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, saith, " Let all the angels of God worship him," to wit, Christ Jesus, who saith, " Swear not at all." And as for the plea that men make for swearing to end their strife,

Christ, who says, "Swear not at all," destroys the devil and his works, who is the author of strife, for that is one of his works. And God said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." So the Son is to be heard, who forbids swearing. And the apostle James, who did hear the Son of God, and followed him, and preached him, forbids all oaths, James v. 12. So the Lord's power went over them, and his Son, and his doctrine was set over them; and the word of life was fully and richly preached, and many were convinced that day. This Thomas Hammersly being summoned to serve upon a jury, was admitted to serve without an oath; and he being foreman of the jury, when he brought in the verdict, the judge did declare, that he had been a judge so many years, but never heard a more upright verdict than that Quaker had then brought in. Much might be written of things of this nature, which time would fail to declare. But the Lord's blessed power and truth was exalted over all, who is worthy of all praise and glory for ever!

Thus travelling through Derbyshire, I visited friends till I came to Swanington in Leicestershire, where there was a general meeting, to which many ranters came, and baptists, and other professors; for great contests there had been with them, and with the priests in that town. To this meeting several friends came from several parts, as John Audland, and Francis Howgil, and Edward Pyot from Bristol, and Edward Burrough from London; and several were convinced in those parts. The ranters that came to the meeting, made a disturbance, and were very rude, but at last the Lord's power came over them, and they were confounded. The next day Jacob Bottomley, a great ranter, came from Leicester; but the Lord's power stopped him, and came over them all. There came a priest too, but he also was confounded by the mighty power of the Lord; for about this time the priests, and the baptists, and the ranters, and other professors, were very rude, and stirred up the rude people against us. Now we sent to the ranters to come forth, and try their God; and there came abundance of them, who were very rude, and sung, and whistled, and danced; but the Lord's power so confounded them that many of them came to be convinced.

After this I came to Twy-cross, whither came some ranters again, and they sang and danced before me. But I was moved in the dread of the Lord to speak to them, and reprove them; and the Lord's power came over them, so that some of them were reached, and convinced, and re-

ceived the Spirit of God; and are come to be a pretty people, living and walking soberly in the truth of Christ. So I went to Anthony Brickley's in Warwickshire, where there was a great meeting; and several baptists and other people came and jangled; but the Lord's power came over them.

Then went I to Drayton in Leicestershire to visit my relations; and as soon as I was come in, Nathaniel Stephens the priest, having gotten another priest, and given notice to the country, sent down to me to come up to them, for they could not do any thing till I came. Now I, having been three years away from my relations, knew nothing of their design and intentions. But at last I went up into the steeple-house-yard where the two priests were, and they had gathered abundance of people. When I came there, they would have had me gone into the steeple-house. I asked them what I should do there; and they said, Mr. Stephens could not bear the cold. I told them, he might bear it as well as I. At last we went into a great hall, and there was Richard Farnsworth with me; and a great dispute we had with these priests, concerning the practice of the priests, how contrary they were to Christ and his apostles. The priests would know, where tithes were forbidden, or ended: whereupon I shewed them out of the seventh chapter to the Hebrews, that not only tithes, but the priesthood that took tithes, was ended; and the law was ended and disannulled, by which the priesthood was made and tithes were commanded to be paid. Then the priests stirred up the people to some lightness and rudeness. Now I had known this priest Stephens from a child, therefore I laid open his condition, and the manner of his preaching; and how that he, like the rest of the priests, did apply the promises to the first birth, which must die: but I shewed that the promises were to the seed, not to many seeds, but to one seed, Christ, who was one in male and female; for all were to be born again before they could enter into the kingdom of God. Then he said, I must not judge so; but I told him, he that was spiritual judged all things. Then he confessed, that that was a full scripture; but neighbours, said he, this is the business, George Fox is come to the light of the sun, and now he thinks to put out my star-light. Then I told him, I would not quench the least measure of God in any, much less put out his star-light, if it were true star-light, light from the morning star. But I told him, if he had any thing from Christ or God, he ought to speak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching, seeing Christ com-

manded his ministers to give freely, as they had received freely. So I charged him to preach no more for tithes, or any hire; but he said he would not yield unto that. Then after awhile the people began to be vain and rude; whereupon we broke up; yet some were made loving to the truth that day. Now before we parted, I told them that, if the Lord would, I intended to be at the town that day seven-night again; and in the interim I went into the country, and had meetings, and came thither again that day seven-night. Against that time this priest had got seven priests to help him: for priest Stephens had given notice at a lecture on a market day at Adderston, that such a day there would be a meeting and a dispute with me: but I knew nothing of it: but only had said, I should be in town that day seven-night again. Now these eight priests had gathered several hundreds of people, even most of the country thereabouts, and they would have had me into the steeple-house; but I would not go in, but got on a hill, and there spoke to them and the people. There was with me Thomas Taylor, who had been a priest; and James Parnel, and several other friends. The priests thought that day to have trampled down truth; but the truth came over them. And then they grew light, and the people rude; and the priests would not stand to trial with me; but would be contending here and there a little, with one friend or other. At last one of the priests brought his son to dispute with me; but his mouth was soon stopped: and when he could not tell how to answer, he would go ask his father: and his father was confounded also, when he came to answer for his son. So after they had toiled themselves, they went away in a rage to priest Stephens's house to drink: and as they went away, I said, I never came in a place where so many priests together would not stand the trial with me. Whereupon they and some of their wives came about me, and laid hold on me, and fawningly said, what might I have been, if it had not been for the Quakers: and then they fell a pushing of friends to and fro, to thrust them from me, and to pluck me to themselves. After a while several lusty fellows came, and took me up in their arms, and carried me into the steeple-house porch, intending to have carried me into the steeple-house by force; but the door being locked, they fell down on an heap, having me under them. As soon as I could I got up from under them, and got to my hill again: then they got me from that place again, and got me to the steeple-house wall, and set me on a bass, like a stool: and all the priests being come back, stood under with the people. And the

priests cried, 'Come, to argument, to argument:' I said, I denied all their voices, for they were the voices of the hirelings and the strangers. And they cried, 'Prove it, prove it.' Then I directed them to the tenth of John, where they might see what Christ said of such; for he said, he was the true shepherd that laid down his life for his sheep, and his sheep heard his voice, and followed him: but the hireling would fly, when the wolf came, because he was an hireling. And I offered to prove that they were such hirelings. Then the priests plucked me off from the bass again; and they themselves got all upon basses under the steeple-house wall. Then I felt the mighty power of God arise over all (though the people began to be a little rude), and I told them, if they would but give audience, and hear me quietly, I would shew them by the scriptures, why I denied those eight priests or teachers, that stood there before me; and all the hireling teachers of the world whatsoever; and I would give them scriptures for what I said. Whereupon both priests and people consented. Then I shewed them out of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micha, Malachy, and other prophets, that they were in the steps of such, as God sent his true prophets to cry against; for, said I, 'You are such as the prophet Jeremiah cried against, chap. v. when he said, "The prophets prophecy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means;" which he called an horrible, filthy thing. And you are such as they that used their tongues and said, Thus saith the Lord, when the Lord never spake to them: and such as followed their own spirits, and saw nothing; but spake forth a divination of their own brain; and by their lies and their lightness had caused the people to err, Jer. xiv. And you are such as they were, that sought for their gain from their quarter; that were as greedy, dumb dogs, that could never have enough, whom the Lord sent his prophet Isaiah to cry against, Isaiah lvi. And you are such, as they were, who taught for handfals of barley, and pieces of bread; who sewed pillows under people's arm-holes, that they might lie soft in their sins, Ezek. xiii. And you are such as they that taught for the fleece, and the wool, and made a prey of the people, Ezek. xxxiv. But the Lord is gathering his sheep from your mouths, and from off your barren mountains; and is bringing them to Christ, the one Shepherd, which he hath set over his flocks; as by his prophet Ezekiel he then declared he would do. And you are such as they that divined for money, and preached for hire; and if a man did not put into their mouths, they prepared

war against him, as the prophet Micha complained, chap. iii. Thus went I on through the prophets, too largely to be here repeated. Then coming to the New Testament, I shewed from thence, that they were like the chief priests, and scribes, and pharisees of old, such as Christ cried woe against, Mat. xxiii. And that they were such false apostles, as the true apostles cried against, such as taught for filthy lucre; and such antichrists and deceivers, as they cried against, that minded earthly things, and served not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies: for they that served Christ, gave freely, and preached freely, as he commanded them. But they that will not preach without hire, tithes or outward means, serve their own bellies, and not Christ; and through the good words of the scriptures, and feigned words of their own, they made merchandise of the people then, as (said I) ye do now. So when I had largely quoted the scriptures, and shewed them, wherein they were like the pharisees, loving to be called of men masters, and to go in long robes, and to stand praying in the synagogues, and to have the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the like; and when I had thrown them out in the sight of the people amongst the false prophets, deceivers, scribes, and pharisees, and shewed at large, how such as they were judged and condemned by the true prophets, by Christ, and by the apostles, I directed them to the light of Christ Jesus, who enlightens every man that cometh into the world; that by it they might see, whether these things were not true, as had been spoken. Now when I appealed to that of God in their consciences, the light of Christ Jesus in them, they could not abide to hear of it; they were all quiet till then; but then a professor said, 'George, what: wilt thou never have done?' I told him, I should have done shortly. So I went on a little longer, and cleared myself of them in the Lord's power. When I had done, all the priests and people stood silent for a time: at last one of the priests said, they would read the scriptures that I had quoted. I told them, with all my heart. They began to read the 23d of Jeremiah, and there they saw the marks of the false prophets, that he cried against. When they had read a verse or two, I said, 'Take notice, people:' but the priests said, 'Hold thy tongue, George.' I bid them read the whole chapter throughout; for it was all against them: then they stopped, and would read no further; but asked me a question. I told them, I would answer their question, the matter being first granted that I had charged them with, viz. that they were false prophets, false teachers, antichrists and deceivers, such as the true

prophets, Christ and the apostles cried against. A professor said nay to that; but I said, Yea; for you leaving the matter, and going to another thing, seem to consent to the proof of their former charge. Then I answered their question, which was this; Seeing those false prophets were adulterated, whether I did judge Stephens to be an adulterer? To which I answered, he was adulterated from God in his practice, like those false prophets and the Jews. They would not stand to vindicate him, but broke up the meeting. Then the priests whispered together; and priest Stephens came to me, and desired that my father and brother and I might go aside with him, that he might speak to me in private; and the rest of the priests should keep the people from coming to us. I was very loth to go aside with him; but the people cried, 'Go George, do George, go aside with him:' and I was afraid, if I did not go, they would say I was disobedient to my parents. So I went, and the rest of the priests were to keep the people off; but they could not, for the people being willing to hear, drew close to us. I asked the priest what he had to say; and he said, if he was out of the way, I should pray for him; and if I was out of the way, he would pray for me: and he would give me a form of words to pray for him by. I replied, 'It seems thou dost not know whether thou beest in the right way or no; neither dost thou know, whether I am in the right way, or no: but I know that I am in the everlasting way, Christ Jesus, which thou art out of. And thou wouldest give me a form of words to pray by, and yet thou deniest the common prayer-book to pray by, as well as I; and I deny thy form of words, as well as it. If thou wouldest have me pray for thee by a form of words, is not this to deny the apostle's doctrine and practice of praying by the spirit, as it gave words and utterance?' Here the people fell a laughing: but I was moved to speak more to him. And when I had cleared myself to him and them, we parted, after I had told them, that I should (God willing) be in the town that day seven-night again. So the priests packed away, and many people were convinced that day; for the Lord's power came over all. And whereas they thought to have confounded truth that day, many were convinced of it; and many that were convinced before, were by that day's work confirmed in the truth, and abode in it: and a great shake it gave to the priests. Yea, my father, though he was an hearer and follower of the priest, was so well satisfied, that he struck his cane upon the ground, and said, 'Truly I see, he that will but stand to the truth, it will carry him out.' So I passed about in

the country till that day seven-night; and then I came again: for we had appointed a meeting at my relations' house. Now priest Stephens having had notice beforehand thereof, had got another priest to him; and they had got a company of troopers with them, and sent for me to come to them. But I sent them word, our meeting was appointed, and they might come to it if they would. The priests came not; but the troopers came, and many rude people. Now they had laid their plot, that the troopers should take every one's name, and then command them to go home; and such as would not go, they should take, and carry them away with them. Accordingly they began, and took several names, charging them to go home; but when they came to take my name, my relations told them, I was at home already: so they could not take me away that time. Nevertheless they took my name: but the Lord's power was over them, and they went away, both professors and troopers, crossed and vexed, because they had not their ends. But several were convinced that day, and admired the love and power of God. This was that priest Stephens, that once had said of me, never such a plant was bred in England: yet afterwards he reported, that I was carried up into the clouds, and found again full of gold and silver; and many lies, and false reports he raised on me: but the Lord swept them all away. Now the reason why I would not go into their steeple-house was, because I was to bear my testimony against it, and to bring all off from such places, to the Spirit of God; that they might know their bodies to be the temples of the Holy Ghost: and to bring them off from all the hireling teachers, to Christ their free teacher, that had died for them, and purchased them with his blood.

After this I went into the country, and had several meetings, and came to Swannington, where the soldiers came again; but the meeting was quiet, and the Lord's power was over all, and the soldiers did not meddle. Then I went to Leicester, and from Leicester to Whetstone. But before the meeting began, there came about seventeen troopers of colonel Hacker's regiment, with his marshal, and they took me up before the meeting, though friends were beginning to gather together; for there were several friends come out of several parts. I told the marshal, he might let all the friends go, I would answer for them all; whereupon he took me and let all the friends go, only Alexander Parker went along with me. At night they had me before colonel Hacker, and his major, and captains, a great company of them, and a great deal of

discourse we had about the priests, and about meetings (for at this time there was a noise of a plot against Oliver Cromwell); and much reasoning I had with them about the light of Christ, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Colonel Hacker asked, whether it was not this light of Christ that made Judas betray his master, and after led him to hang himself. I told him no; that was the spirit of darkness, which hated Christ and his light. Then colonel Hacker said, I might go home, and keep at home, and not go abroad to meetings. I told him, I was an innocent man, free from plots, and denied all such work. Then his son Needham said, Father, this man hath reigned too long, it is time to have him cut off. I asked him, for what? what had I done? or whom had I wronged from a child? for I was bred and born in that country, and who could accuse me of any evil from a child? Then colonel Hacker asked me again, if I would go home, and stay at home? I told him, if I should promise him so, that would manifest that I was guilty of something to go home, and make my home a prison; and if I went to meetings, they would say, I broke their order. Therefore I told them, I should go to meetings, as the Lord should order me, and therefore could not submit to their requirings; but I said, we were a peaceable people. Well then, said colonel Hacker, I will send you to my Lord Protector, by captain Drury, one of his life-guard. That night I was kept a prisoner at the marshalsea, and the next morning by the sixth hour I was ready, and delivered to captain Drury. I desired he would let me speak with colonel Hacker before I went, and he had me to his bedside. Colonel Hacker at me presently again, to go home and keep no more meetings. I told him, I could not submit to that, but must have my liberty to serve God, and to go to meetings. Then, said he, you must go before the Protector; whereupon I kneeled on his bedside, and besought the Lord to forgive him, for he was as Pilate, though he would wash his hands; and when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, I bid him, then remember, what I had said to him. But he was stirred up, and set on by priest Stephens, and the other priests and professors, wherein their envy and baseness was manifest; who, when they could not overcome me by disputes and arguments, nor resist the spirit of the Lord that was in me, then they got soldiers to take me up.

Afterwards, when this colonel Hacker was in prison in London, a day or two before he was executed, he was put in mind of what he done against the innocents, and he re-

membered it, and confessed to it to Margaret Fell, and said he knew well whom she meant, and he had a trouble upon him for it. So his son, who told his father I had reigned too long, and that it was time to have me cut off, might observe how his father was cut off afterwards, being hanged at Tyburn.

Now was I carried up a prisoner by captain Drury aforesaid from Leicester; and when we came to Harborough, he asked me, if I would go home and stay a fortnight? I should have my liberty, he said, if I would not go to, nor keep meetings. I told him, I could not promise any such thing. Several times upon the road did he ask, and try me after the same manner, and still I gave him the same answers; so he brought me to London, and lodged me at the Mermaid over against the Mews at Charing Cross. And on the way as we travelled, I was moved of the Lord to warn people at the inns and places, where I came, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them. And William Dewsberry and Marmaduke Stor being in prison at Northampton, he let me go and visit them.

After captain Drury had lodged me at the Mermaid, he left me there, and went to give the Protector an account of me. And when he came to me again, he told me, the Protector did require, that I should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the government, as it then was, and that I should write it in what words I saw good, and set my hand to it; I said little in reply to captain Drury. But the next morning I was moved of the Lord to write a paper to the Protector, by the name of Oliver Cromwell, wherein I did in the presence of the Lord God declare, that I did deny the wearing or drawing of a carnal sword, or any other outward weapon against him or any man; and that I was sent of God to stand a witness against all violence, and against the works of darkness; and to turn people from darkness to the light, and to bring them from the occasion of war and fighting, to the peaceable gospel, and from evil-doers, which the magistrates' swords should be a terror to. When I had written what the Lord had given me to write, I set my name to it, and gave it to captain Drury to give to Oliver Cromwell, which he did. Then after some time captain Drury brought me before the Protector himself at Whitehall; it was in a morning, before he was dressed, and one Harvey, that had come a little among friends, but was disobedient, waited upon him. When I came in, I was moved to say, 'Peace be in this house;' and I bid him keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wisdom

from him, that by it he might be ordered, and with it might order all things under his hand to God's glory. I spake much to him of truth, and a great deal of discourse I had with him about religion: wherein he carried himself very moderately. But he said we quarrelled with priests, whom he called ministers; I told him, I did not quarrel with them, but they quarrelled with me and my friends. But, said I, if we own the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, we cannot hold up such teachers, prophets, and shepherds, as the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared against; but we must declare against them by the same power and spirit. Then I shewed him, that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles declared freely, and declared against them that did not declare freely; such as preached for filthy lucre and divined for money, and preached for hire, and were covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs, that could never have enough; and that they that have the same Spirit, that Christ, and the prophets, and the apostles had, could not but declare against all such now, as they did then. As I spoke, he would several times say, it was very good, and it was truth. I told him, that all Christendom (so called) had the scriptures, but they wanted the power and spirit that they had who gave forth the scriptures, and that was the reason they were not in fellowship with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the scriptures, nor one with another. Many more words I had with him, but people coming in, I drew a little back; and as I was turning, he caught me by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, said, come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other; adding, that he wished me no more ill than he did to his own soul. I told him, if he did, he wronged his own soul; and I bid him hearken to God's voice, that he might stand in his counsel and obey it, and if he did so, that would keep him from hardness of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened. And he said, it was true. Then went I out; and when captain Drury came out after me, he told me, his lord Protector said, I was at liberty, and might go whither I would. Then I was brought into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine; and I asked them, what they did bring me thither for? they said, it was by the Protector's order, that I might dine with them. I bid them let the Protector know, I would not eat a bit of his bread, nor drink a sup of his drink. When he heard this, he said, 'Now I see there is a people risen and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices or places;

but all other sects and people I can.' But it was told him again, that we had forsook our own, and were not like to look for such things from him.

Now I being set at liberty went up to the inn again, where captain Drury had at first lodged me. This captain Drury, though he sometimes carried fairly, was an enemy to me and to truth, and opposed it; and when professors came to me (while I was under his custody) and he was by, he would scoff at trembling, and call us Quakers, as the independents and presbyterians had nick-named us before. But afterwards he came on a time to me, and told me, that, as he was lying on his bed to rest himself in the day-time, a sudden trembling seized on him, that his joints knocked together, and his body shook so that he could not rise from his bed; he was so shaken, that he had not strength enough left to rise: but he felt the power of the Lord was upon him, and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and said he never would speak against the Quakers more, such as trembled at the word of God.

During the time that I was prisoner at Charing Cross, there came abundance to see me, people almost of all sorts, priests, professors, officers of the army, &c. And one time a company of officers being with me, desired me to pray with them; I sat still, with my mind retired to the Lord; at last I felt the power and spirit of God move in me, and the Lord's power did so shake and shatter them, that they wondered, though they did not live in it.

Among those that came thither to see me, there was one colonel Packer, with several of his officers, and while they were with me, came in one Cob, and a great company of ranters with him. The ranters began to call for drink and tobacco; but I desired them to forbear it in my room, telling them, if they had such a mind to it, they might go into another room. One of them cried, all is ours; and another of them said, all is well. I replied, how is all well, while thou art so peevish, and envious, and crabbed? for I saw he was of a peevish nature, and so I spoke to their conditions, and they were sensible of it, and looked upon one another wondering.

Then colonel Packer began to talk with a light, chaffy mind, concerning God, and Christ, and the scriptures; that was a great grief to my soul and spirit, when I heard him talk so lightly; so that I told him, he was too light to talk of the things of God, for he did not know the solidity of a man. Thereupon the officers raged, and said, would I say so of their colonel. This Packer was a baptist, and he and the ranters bowed and scraped to one another very

much; for it was the manner of the ranters to be exceeding complimentary (as they call it) so that Packer bid them give over their compliments; but I told them, they were fit to go together, for they were both of one spirit.

This colonel Packer lived at Theobald's near Waltham, and was made a justice of peace: he set up a great meeting of the baptists at Theobald's Park; for he and some other officers had purchased it. They were exceeding high, and railed against friends and truth, and threatened to apprehend me with their warrants if ever I came there. Yet after I was set at liberty, I was moved of the Lord God to go down to Theobald's, and appoint a meeting hard by them; to which many of his people came, and divers of his hearers were convinced of the way of truth, and received Christ, the free teacher, and came off from him; and that made him rage the more. But the Lord's power came over him, so that he had not power to meddle with me. Then I went to Waltham hard by him, and had a meeting there, but the people were very rude, and gathered about the house and broke the windows. Whereupon I went out to them, with the bible in my hand, and desired them to come in; and told them I would shew them scripture both for our principles and practices. And when I had done so, I shewed them also, that their teachers were in the steps of such, as the prophets, and Christ, and the apostles cried against. Then I directed them to the light of Christ, and spirit of God in their own hearts, that by it they might come to know their free teacher, the Lord Jesus Christ. The meeting being ended, they went away quieted and satisfied, and a meeting hath since been settled in that town; but this was sometime after I was set at liberty by Oliver Cromwell.

For when I came from Whitehall to the Mermaid at Charing Cross (which had been my prison) I staid not long there, but went into the city of London, where we had great and powerful meetings; and so great were the throngs of people, that I could hardly get to and from the meetings for the crowds of people; and the truth spread exceedingly. Thomas Aldam and Robert Craven (who had been sheriff of Lincoln) and divers friends, came up to London after me; but Alexander Parker abode with me.

Then after a while I went to Whitehall again, and was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them, and that the Lord was come to teach his people himself; so I preached truth both to the officers, and to them that were called Oliver's gentlemen, who were of his guard. But there was a priest that opposed, while I was declaring the

word of the Lord amongst them; for Oliver had several priests about him, of which this was his news-monger, an envious priest, and a light, scornful, chaffy man. I bid him repent; and he put it in his news-book the next week that I had been at Whitehall, and had bid a godly minister there repent. When I went thither again, I met with him, and abundance of people gathered about me; then I manifested the priest to be a liar in several things that he had affirmed; and so he was put to silence. He put in the news-book, that I wore silver buttons, which was false, for they were but alchemy. Afterward he put in the news-book, that I hung ribbands on people's arms, which made them to follow me; this was another of his lies, for I never wore nor used ribbands in my life. Three friends went to examine this priest that gave forth this false intelligence, and to know of him where he had that information. He told them, it was a woman that told him so, and that if they would come again, he would tell them the woman's name. When they came again, he said, it was a man, but would not tell them his name then; but if they would come again, he said, he would tell them his name and where he lived. They went the third time, and then he would not tell who told him; but offered, if I would give it under my hand, that there was no such thing, he would put that into the news-book. Thereupon the friends carried it to him under my hand; but when they came he broke his promise, and would not put it in, but was in a rage, and threatened them with the constable. This was the deceitful doing of this forger of lies; and these lies he spread over all the nation in the news-books, to render truth odious, and to put evil into people's minds against friends and truth, of which a more large account may be seen in a book printed soon after this time, for the clearing of friends and truth from the slanders, lies, and false reports raised and cast upon them. These priests, the news-mongers, were of the independent sect, like them in Leicester; but the Lord's power came over all their lies, and swept them away, and many came to see the naughtiness of these priests. The God of heaven carried me over all in his power, and his blessed power went over the nation: insomuch, that many friends about this time were moved to go up and down, to sound forth the everlasting gospel in most parts of this nation, and also in Scotland; and the glory of the Lord was felt over all to his everlasting praise: and a great convincement there was in London, and some in the Protector's house and family; I went to have seen him again, but could not get to him, the officers were grown so rude.

The presbyterians, independents, and baptists, were in a great rage; for many of their people came to be turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and sat down under his teachings and received his power, and felt it in their hearts; and then they were moved of the Lord to declare against the rest of them.

I appointed a meeting in the fields near Acton, in which the word of life and the saving truth was declared freely, and the Lord's power was eminently manifested, and his blessed day exalted over all.

About this time I was moved to write a paper, and send it forth among the professors; a copy of which here followeth:

To all Professors of Christianity.

' All they that professed Jesus Christ in words, and yet heard him not when he was come, they said, he was a deceiver and a devil: the chief priests were they that called him so. So the Jews said, "He hath a devil, and is mad; why do ye hear him?" But others said, "These are not the words of him that hath a devil: can a devil open the eyes of the blind?" The Jews then doubted, whether he were the Christ, or no; and so all, like the Jews, in the knowledge, in the notion, that profess a Christ without only, where Christ is risen within, they do not own him, but do doubt of him; though Christ be the same now and for ever. Jesus Christ said, "I and my Father are one:" then the Jews took up stones to stone him. And where Jesus Christ is now spiritually come and made manifest, the Jews, such as are Christians in outward profession only, have the same hard hearts inwardly now, as they had then; and do cast stones at him, where he is risen. Jesus said, "For which of these good works do ye stone me?" The Jews answered. "For thy good works we stone thee not; but for blasphemy, in that thou being a man, makest thyself God." Jesus answered them, "Is it not written in your law, I said, you are gods? and the scripture cannot be broken. Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?" The Jews said to him, "Say we not well, that thou hast a devil?" Jesus answered, "I honour my Father, and ye dishonour me." And they that were in the synagogue rose up, and thrust him out of the city; and took him up to the edge of the hill whereon their city was built, to cast him down headlong. The pharisees said of him, "He casteth out

devils by the prince of devils." Jesus Christ was called a glutton and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners; but wisdom is justified of her children. The officers, when the high-priests and pharisees asked them, "Why have ye not brought him?" said, "Never man spake like this man." The pharisees said, "Are ye also deceived? Do any of the rulers or of the pharisees believe on him?" but this people which know not the law are accursed. Nicodemus said unto them, (he that came unto Jesus by night) "Doth our law judge any man before it hear him?" When Stephen confessed Jesus the substance of all figures and types, and was brought before the chief priests to his trial, he told them, "The Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands:" and brought the prophet's words to witness, and told them, they were stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart and ears, and always resisted the Holy Ghost, as their fathers had done. Stephen was full of the Holy Ghost, and said, he saw Jesus, and they ran upon him, and stoned him to death, as he was calling upon the Lord. When Paul confessed Jesus Christ and his resurrection, Festus said, he was mad. When Paul preached the resurrection, some mocked; the Jews persuaded the people, and they stoned him, and drew him out of the city, thinking he had been dead. The Jews stirred up the Gentiles to make their minds evil affected towards the brethren. The Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief of the city, and raised up persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts; and there was an assault made both of the Gentiles and of the Jews with their rulers, to use them despitefully and to stone them. In like manner all in the nature of those Jews now, whose religion stands in notions, do stir up the rulers, and do stir up the ignorant people and incense them against Jesus Christ, where he is risen, to stone them all with one consent, in whom he is risen. This is that the scriptures might be fulfilled, and the blindness of the people might be discovered. And the same power now is made manifest and doth overturn the world, as did overturn the world to the exalting of the Lord, and to the pulling down of the kingdom of Satan and of this world, and setting up his own kingdom to his everlasting praise. The Lord is now exalting himself, and throwing down man's self; the proud one's head is aloft, fearing he should lose his pride and his crown; the priests they incense the ignorant people, for fear their trade should go down; and the professors they shew forth what is in them, being full of rage; which shews, that Jesus Christ, the

substance, is not there, but a stony heart to stone the precious, where it is risen. The carnal mind feeds upon the outward letter, and earth feeds upon earth, and that vineyard is not dressed, but is full of briars and nettles, and ravenous beasts, swine and dogs, wolves and lions, and all venomous creatures lodge in that habitation. That house is foul and is not swept, and these are the persecutors of the just and enemies of the truth, and the enemies of Christ; these are blasphemers of God and his truth; these are they that call upon God with their lips, but their hearts are far from him; these are they that feed on lies, priests and people; these are they that incense all the people and stir up envy, for it begets its own, one like itself; these are they that are the waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; these are they that have double eyes, whose bodies are full of darkness; these are they that paint themselves with the prophets', with Christ's, and with the apostles' words most fair; whited walls you are; painted sepulchres you are; murderers of the just you are. Your eyes are double, your minds are double, your hearts are double; ye flatterers repent from your carnal ends, who are full of mischief, pretending God and godliness, taking him for your cloak; but he will uncover you, and he hath uncovered you to his children. He will make you bare, and discover your secrets and take off your crown, and take away your mantle and your veil, and strip you of your cloathing, that your nakedness may appear, and how you sit deceiving the nations. Your abomination and your falseness is now made manifest to them, who are of God, who in his power triumph over you, rejoice over you, the beast, the dragon, the false prophet, the seducer, the hypocrite, the mother of all harlots; now thou must have thy cup double, give it to her double: sing over her, ye righteous ones, sing over them all, ye saints; triumph in glory, triumph over the deceit; sing the song of the Lamb, triumph over the world; spread the truth abroad. Come ye captive ones out of prison, and rejoice with one accord, for the joyful days are coming; let us be glad and rejoice for ever, singleness of heart is come, pureness of heart is come, joy and gladness is come. The glorious God is exalting himself, and truth hath been talked of, but now it is possessed. Christ hath been talked of, but now he is come and possessed. The glory hath been talked of, but now it is possessed, and the glory of man is defacing. The Son of God hath been talked of, but now he is come, and hath given us understanding. Unity hath been talked of, but now it is come. Virgins have been talked of, but

now they are come with oil in their lamps. He will be glorified alone, where pride is thrown down, earth and the fleshly will is thrown down, and the pure is raised up; there alone is the Lord exalted. Let the heavens bow down to him, and the earth reel to and fro, and stagger up and down; the Lord is setting up his throne and his crown, and throwing down the crown of man, and he alone will be glorified; to whom be all honour and glory, all praises and all thanks. Who gives his children wisdom and strength, knowledge and virtue, power and riches, blessings and durable substance, and an eye to discern, and an ear to hear things singly; and brings down the pride of man's heart, and turns the wicked out of the kingdom. The righteous ones inherit righteousness, the pure ones pureness, the holy ones holiness: praises, praises be to the Lord, whose glory now shines, whose day is broken forth, which is hid from the world, hid from all worldly wise ones, and from all the prudent of this world; hid from the fowls of the air; hid from all vultures eyes, and all venomous beasts, and all liars, and all dogs, and all swine. But to them that fear his name, the secrets of the Lord are made manifest, the treasures of wisdom are opened, and the fulness of knowledge: for thou, O Lord, dost make thyself manifest to thy children.'

G. F.

My spirit was greatly burdened to see the pride, that was got up in the nation, even amongst the professors, and in the sense thereof I was moved to give forth the following paper, directed—

'To such as follow the World's fashions.'

'What a world is this! how doth the devil garnish himself! and how obedient are people to do his will and mind, that they are altogether carried away with fooleries and vanities, both men and women, that they have lost the hidden man of the heart, and the meek and quiet spirit; which with the Lord is of great price. They have lost the adorning of Sarah; they are putting on gold and gay apparel: women plaiting the hair, men and women powdering it; making their backs look like bags of meal. They look so strange that they can scarce look at one another, they are so lifted up in pride. Pride is flown up into their head, and hath so lifted them up, that they snuff up, like wild asses, and like Ephraim: they feed upon

wind; and are gotten to be like wild heifers, who feed upon the mountains. Pride hath puffed up every one of them: they are out of the fear of God, men and women, young and old; one puffs up another. They must be in the fashion of the world, else they are not in esteem; else they shall not be respected, if they have not gold or silver upon their backs, or if his hair be not powdered. But if he have store of ribbands hanging about his waist, and at his knees, and in his hat, of divers colours, red or white, or black or yellow, and his hair be powdered, then he is a brave man, then he is accepted, then he is no quaker, because he hath ribbons on his back, and belly, and knees, and his hair powdered: this is the array of the world. But is not this from the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, or the pride of life? Likewise the women having their gold, their spots on their faces, noses, cheeks, foreheads, having their rings on their fingers, wearing gold, having their cuffs double, under and above, like unto a butcher with his white sleeves; having their ribbands tied about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their clothes; this is no quaker, say they. This is that that pleaseth the world; this array, this attire, pleaseth the world: and if they cannot get these things, they are discontented. But this is not the attire of Sarah, whose adorning was in the hidden man of the heart, of a quiet and meek spirit: this is the adorning of the heathen, not of the apostle, nor of the saints, whose adorning was, not wearing of gold, nor plaiting of hair, but a meek and quiet spirit; which was and is of great price with the Lord. And here was the sobriety and good ornament, which was of the Lord accepted. This was Paul's exhortation and preaching; but we see, the talkers of Paul's words live out of Paul's command, and out of the example of Sarah; and are found in the steps of the great heathen, who comes to examine the apostles in his gorgeous apparel. Now, are not all these, that have got their ribbons hanging about their arms, hands, back, waists, knees, hats, like unto fiddler's-boys? Which shews that you are gotten into the basest and most contemptible life, who be in the fashion of the fiddler's boys and stage players, quite out of the paths and steps of solid men; and in the very steps and paths of the wild heads, who give themselves up to every invention and vanity of the world that appears, and is inventing how to get it upon their backs, heads, feet, and legs, and say, if it be out of the fashion it is nothing worth. Are not these the spoilers of the creation, who have the fat and the best of it, and waste and destroy it? Do not

these cumber God's earth? Let that of God in all consciences answer, and who are in the wisdom, judge. And further: if one get a pair of breeches like a coat, and hang them about with points, and up almost to the middle, a pair of double cuffs upon his hands, and a feather in his cap, here is a gentleman; bow before him, put off your hats, bow, get a company of fiddlers, a set of music, and women to dance. This is a brave fellow; up in the chamber; up in the chamber without, and up in the chamber within. Are these your fine Chistians? yea, said they, they are Christians. Yea, but, say the serious people, they are out of Christ's life, and out of the apostles' command, and out of the saints' ornament. And to see such as are before described, as are in the fashions of the world before-mentioned, a company of them playing at bowls, or at tables, or at shuffle-board; or each taking his horse, that hath bunches of ribbons on his head, as the rider hath on his own (who, perhaps, hath a ring in his ear too) and so go to horse-racing, to spoil the creatures; oh, these are gentlemen indeed, these are bred up gentlemen, these are brave fellows, and they must take their recreation, for pleasures are lawful. And these in their sports set up their shouts, like unto the wild asses; they are like unto the kine or beasts when they are put to grass, lowing when they are full. And here is the glorying of them before-mentioned; but it is in the flesh, not in the Lord: these are bad Christians, and shew that they are gluttoned with the creatures, and then the flesh rejoiceth. And here is bad breeding of youth and young women, who are carried away with the vanities of the mind in their own inventions, pride, arrogancy, lust, gluttony, uncleanness: so eat and drink, and rise up to play. This is the generation which God is not well-pleased withal; but their eyes are full of adultery, who cannot cease from evil. These be they that live in pleasures upon earth; these be they who are dead while they live; who glory not in the Lord, but in the flesh. These be they that be from the life, that the scriptures were given forth from; who live in the fashions and vanities of the world, out of truth's adorning in the devil's adorning (who is out of the truth) and not in the adorning of the Lord, which is a meek and quiet spirit, which is with the Lord of great price. But this ornament and this adorning is not put on by them that be adorned, and have the ornament of him that is out of the truth; and that is not accepted with the Lord, which is accepted in their eye.'

G. F.

Moreover it came upon me about this time from the Lord, to write a short paper and send forth, as an exhortation and warning to the pope, and all kings and rulers in Europe; a copy of which here follows:

‘ Friends,

‘ Ye heads, and rulers, and kings, and nobles of all sorts, be not bitter, nor hasty in persecuting the lambs of Christ, neither turn yourselves against the visitation of God, and his tender love and mercies from on high, who sent to visit you; lest the Lord’s hand, arm, and power, take hold swiftly upon you, which is now stretched over the world; that is turned against kings, and shall turn wise men backward, and will bring off their crowns to the dust, and lay them low and level with the earth. God and Christ will be king, who gives crowns to whomsoever obey his will; and this is the age wherein the Lord God of heaven and earth is staining the pride of man, and defacing his glory. So you that profess Christ, and do not love your enemies, but on the contrary do shut up and imprison them, who are his friends; these be marks that you be out of his life, and do not love Christ, who do not the things he commands. The day of the Lord’s wrath is kindling, and his fire is going forth to burn up the wicked; which will leave neither root nor branch. They that have lost their habitation with God, be out of the spirit, that gave forth the scriptures, and from the light that Jesus Christ hath enlightened them withal; and so from the true foundation. Therefore be swift to hear, and slow to speak, and slower to persecute: for the Lord is bringing his people to himself, from off all the world’s ways, to Christ the way; and from off all the world’s churches, to the church which is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and from off all the world’s teachers, to teach his people himself by his spirit; and from off all the world’s images, into the image of himself; and from their likenesses into his own likeness; and from off all the world’s crosses of stone or wood, into his power, which is the cross of Christ. For all these images, and crosses, and likenesses, are among them, that are apostatised from the image of God, the power of God, which is the cross of Christ, which now fathoms the world, and is throwing down that which is contrary to it; which power of God never changes.

‘ Let this go to the kings of France, and of Spain, and to the pope, for them to prove all things, and to hold that which is good. And first to prove, that they have not

quenched the spirit: for the mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming upon all wickedness, and ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men, who will plead with all flesh by fire and by sword. And the truth, and the crown of glory, and the scepter of righteousness over all shall be exalted; which shall answer that of God in every one upon the earth, though they be from it. Christ is come a light into the world, and doth enlighten every one that cometh into the world; that all through him might believe. He that feeleth the light that Christ hath enlightened him withal, he feeleth Christ in his mind, and the cross of Christ, which is the power of God; and he shall not need to have a cross of wood or stone, to put him in mind of Christ, or of his cross, which is the power of God manifest in the inward parts.'

G. F.

Besides this I was moved to write a letter to the Protector (so called) to warn him of the mighty work the Lord hath to do in the nations, and shaking of them; and to beware of his own wit, craft, subtilty and policy, or seeking any by-ends to himself.

There was about this time an order for the trying of ministers (so called) and for approving, or ejecting them out of their places or benefices; whereupon I writ a paper to the justices, and other commissioners, who were appointed to that work. Of which paper the copy here follows:

' Friends,

' You that be justices, and in commission to try ministers, who have so long been in the vine-yard of God, now see, whether they be such, as are mentioned in the scriptures, whom the prophets, Christ and the apostles, did disapprove of; and if they be such as they disapproved then, see how ye can stand approved in the sight of God, to let such go into his vine-yard and approve of them; who will admire your persons, because of advantage, and if you do not give them advantage, they will not admire your persons. Such Jude speaks of. See if they be not such as teach for filthy lucre, for the love of money, covetous, such as love themselves, who have a form of godliness, but deny the power, from such the apostle bids turn away. The apostle said their mouths should be stopped who served not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies, being evil beasts, slow bellies, who mind earthly things. Paul gave Timothy an order to try ministers by; he said, they must not be covetous, nor

given to wine, nor filthy lucre, nor a novice, lest being lifted up into pride, they fall into the condemnation of the devil: these he was to try and prove without partiality. Now take heed of your approving such as he disapproved, for since the apostles' days, such as he disapproved have had their liberty; and they have told us, the tongues were their original, and that they were orthodox men; and that the steeple-house, with a cross on the top of it, was the church (the papists' mass-house, you may look on the top of it, and see the sign.) But the scriptures tell us, all the earth was of one language before the building of Babel; and when Pilate crucified Christ, he set the tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, on the top of him. And John tells us, that the beast had power over the tongues, kindreds, and nations; and that the whore sits upon the tongues, of whose cup all nations have drunk, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her; and John said, the tongues are waters. Christ gives marks to his disciples, and to the multitude, how to try such as these that you are to try. They are called of men master; they love the chiefest seat in the assemblies; they be sayers but not doers; and, said he, they shall put you out of the synagogues, and seven woes he denounced against them, and so disapproved them. Christ said false prophets should come, and John saw they were come; for they went forth from them, and since the world hath gone after them. But Babylon must be confounded, the mother of harlots, and the devil must be taken, and with him the beast, and the false prophet must be cast into the lake of fire; for the lamb and his saints over all must reign, and have the victory. The Lord God sent his prophets of old, to cry against the shepherds, that sought for the fleece, Ezek. 34. and to cry against such shepherds as seek for their gain from their quarter, and never have enough, Isa. 5. 6.; and to cry against the prophets that prophesied falsely, and the priests that bore rule by their means; which was the filthy and horrible thing, Jer. 5. And if you would forbear to give them means, you would see how long they would bear rule. There was in the old time a store-house for the fatherless, strangers, and widows, to come to and be filled, and they did not prosper then who did not bring their tithes to the store-house. But did not Christ put an end to that priesthood, tithes, temple, and priests? And doth not the apostle say, that the priesthood is changed, the law is changed, and the commandment disannulled? Might not they have pleaded the law of God that gave them tithes? Have ever any of the

priests prospered that take tithes since, by the law of man? Was not the first author of them since Christ's time the Pope, or some of his church? Did the apostles cast men into prison for tithes, as your ministers do now? As instance, Ralph Hollingworth, priest of Phillingham, for petty tithes, not exceeding six shillings, hath cast into Lincoln prison a poor thatcher, named Thomas Bromby, where he hath been about eight and thirty weeks, and still remains a prisoner. And the priest petitioned the judge that the poor man might not labour in the city to get a little money towards his maintenance in prison. Is this a good savour amongst you, that are in commission to chuse ministers? Is this glad tidings, to cast in prison a man that is not his hearer, because he could not put into his mouth? Can such as be in the fear of God, and in his wisdom, own such things? The ministers of Christ are to plant a vine-yard, and then eat of the fruit; to plough, sow, and thresh, and get the corn, and then let them reap; but not cast them into prison for whom they do no work. Christ, when he sent forth his ministers, bid them give freely as they had received freely; and into what city or town soever they came, inquire who were worthy, and there abide, and what they set before you (said he) that eat. And when these came back again to Christ, and he asked them if they wanted any thing, they said no. They did not go to a town and call the people together, to know how much they might have by the year, as these that are in the apostacy do now. The apostle said, have I not power to eat and to drink? But he did not say to take tithes, Easter-reckonings, Midsummer-dues, augmentations, and great sums of money; but have I not power to eat and to drink? And yet he did not use that power among the Corinthians. But they that are apostatized from him, will take tithes, great sums of money, Easter-reckonings, and Midsummer-dues; and cast them into prison that will not give it them, whom they do no work for. The ox's mouth must not be muzzled that treads out the corn; but see if the corn be trodden out in you, and the wheat be in the garner. This is from a lover of your souls, and one that desires your eternal good.'

G. F.

Now after I had made some stay in the city of London, and had given forth the several foregoing papers, and cleared myself of what service lay upon me at that time there, I was moved of the Lord to go down into Bedfordshire to John Crook's house, where there was a great

meeting, and people generally convinced of the Lord's truth. When I was come thither, John Crook told me that the next day several of those that were called the gentlemen of the country, would come to dine with him and to discourse with me. They came, and I declared to them God's eternal truth. Several friends went to the steeple-houses that day. And there was a meeting in the country, which Alexander Parker went to; and towards the middle of the day it came upon me to go to it, though it was several miles from me. John Crook went with me, and when we came there, there was one — Gritton, that had been a baptist, but he was gotten higher than they, and called himself a trier of spirits. He used to tell people their fortunes, and pretended to discover to people, when their goods were stolen or houses broken up, who the persons were that did it, by which he had gotten into the affections of many people thereabout. This man was got into that meeting and was speaking, and making an hideous noise over the young-convinced friends when I came in, and he bid Alexander Parker give a reason of his hope. Alexander Parker told him Christ was his hope; but because he did not answer him so soon as he expected, he boastingly cried, his mouth is stopped. Then this Gritton directed his speech to me, for I stood still and heard him, and he spake many things, which were not agreeable to scripture. I asked him, whether he could make those things out by scripture which he had spoken, and he said, yes, yes. Then I bid the people take out their bibles to search the places he should quote for proof of his assertions, but he could not make good by scripture that which he had said. So he was shamed and fled out of the house, and his people were generally convinced, for his spirit was discovered, and he came no more amongst them. And when his people were convinced and settled in God's truth, they gave forth a book against him, and denied his spirit and his false discoveries. Many were turned to Christ Jesus that day, and came to sit under his teaching; inso-much that the judges were in a great rage, and many of the magistrates in Bedfordshire, because there were so many turned from the hireling priests to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching. But John Crook was kept by the power of the Lord; yet he was turned out from being a justice.

After some time I turned up through the country to London again, where friends were finely established in the truth, and great comings in there were. And about this time several friends went beyond the seas to declare the everlasting truth of God. Now when I had stayed a while

in the city I went into Kent ; and when I came to Rochester, there was a guard kept to examine passengers, but we passed by, and were not stopped. So I went to Cranbrook, where there was a great meeting, and several soldiers were at it, and many were turned to the Lord that day. After the meeting, some of the soldiers were somewhat rude, but the Lord's power came over them. One Thomas Howsigoe, an independent preacher, who lived not far from Cranbrook, was convinced, and became a faithful minister for the Lord Jesus. Some friends had travelled into Kent before, as John Stubbs and William Caton, and the priests and professors had stirred up the magistrates at Maidstone to whip them, for declaring God's truth unto them, as may be seen at large in the Journal of William Caton's life. There was also one captain Dunk convinced in Kent, and he went with me to Rye, where we had a meeting, to which the mayor and officers, and several captains came ; and they took what I said in writing, which I was well pleased with. All was quiet, and the people affected with the truth.

From Rye I went to Rumney, where the people having had notice of my coming some time before, there was a very large meeting. Thither came Samuel Fisher, who was an eminent preacher among the baptists, and had had a parsonage reputed worth about two hundred pounds a year, which for conscience-sake he had given up. And there was also the pastor of the baptists, and abundance of their people. And the power of the Lord was so mightily over the meeting, that many were reached by the power of God, and one greatly shaken, and the life sprang up in divers. One of the pastors of the baptists, being amazed at the work of the Lord's power, bid one of our friends that was so wrought upon, have a good conscience ; whereupon I was moved of the Lord to bid him, take heed of hypocrisy and deceit ; and he was silent. A great conviction there was that day, and many were turned from the darkness to the divine light of Christ, and came to see their teachers' errors, and to sit under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching, and to know him their way, and the covenant of light, which God had given to be their salvation ; and they were brought to the one baptism, and to the one baptizer, Christ Jesus. When the meeting was done, Samuel Fisher's wife said, ' Now we may discern this day betwixt flesh and spirit, and distinguish spiritual teaching from fleshly.' The people were generally well satisfied with what had been declared, but the two baptist teachers and their company, when they were gone from the

meeting, fell to reasoning amongst the people. Samuel Fisher, with divers others, reasoned for the word of life, which had been declared that day; and the other pastor and his party reasoned against it; so it divided them asunder, and cut them in the midst. A friend came and told me that the baptists were disputing one with another, and desired me to go up to them; but I said let them alone, the Lord will divide them; and they that reason for truth, will be too hard for the other; and so it was. This Samuel Fisher received the truth in the love of it, and became a faithful minister of it, and preached Christ freely, and laboured much in the work and service of the Lord, being moved of the Lord to go and declare the word of life at Dunkirk and in Holland, and in divers parts of Italy, as Leghorn, and Rome itself. And yet the Lord preserved him and his companion John Stubbs, out of their inquisitions.

From Rumney I passed to Dover, and had a meeting there, where several were convinced. And near unto Dover there was a governor and his wife convinced, who had been baptists, and the baptists thereabouts were much offended, and grew very envious; but the Lord's power came over all. Luke Howard of Dover was convinced sometime before, and became a faithful minister of Christ.

Returning from Dover I went to Canterbury, where there were a few honest-hearted people turned to the Lord, who sate down under Christ's teaching. Thence I passed to Cranbrook again, where I had a great meeting; a friend that was with me went to the steeple-house, and was cast into prison. But the Lord's power was manifested, and his truth spread.

From thence I passed into Sussex, and lodged near Horsham, where there was a great meeting, and many were convinced. Also at Stenning we had a great meeting in the market-house, and several were convinced there, and thereaways; for the Lord's power was with us. Several meetings I had thereabouts, and among the rest, there was a meeting appointed at a great man's house, and he and his son went to fetch several priests that had threatened to come and dispute. But when the time came, none of them came, for the Lord's power was mighty in us. A glorious meeting we had, and the man of the house and his son were vexed, because none of the priests would come. So the hearts of people were opened by the Spirit of God, and they were turned from the hirelings to Christ Jesus their shepherd, who had purchased them without money, and

would feed them without money or price. Many that came, expecting to hear a dispute, were convinced that day, amongst which Nicholas Beard was one.

Thus the Lord's power came over all, and his day many came to see. There were abundance of ranters in those parts, and professors that had been so loose in their lives, that they began to be weary of it, and had thought to have gone into Scotland to have lived privately. But the Lord's net caught them, and their understandings were opened by his light, spirit, and power, through which they came to receive the truth, and to be settled upon the Lord, and so became very sober men, and good friends in the truth. And great blessing and praising the Lord there was amongst them, and great admiration in the country.

Out of Sussex I travelled through the country till I came to Reading, where I found a few that were convinced of the way of the Lord. There I stayed till the first-day, and then had a meeting in George Lamboll's orchard, and a great part of the town came to it. A glorious meeting it was, and a great convincement there was that day, and the people were mightily satisfied. Thither came two of judge Fell's daughters to me, and George Bishop of Bristol came with his sword by his side (for he was a captain.) After the meeting many baptists and ranters came privately, reasoning and discoursing; but the Lord's power came over them. The ranters pleaded, that God made the devil; but I denied it, and told them, I was come into the power of God, the seed Christ, which was before the devil was, and bruised the head of him; and he became a devil by going out of truth, and so became a murderer and a destroyer. So I shewed them that God did not make the devil, for God is a God of truth, and he made all things good, and blessed them; but God did not bless the devil. And the devil is bad, and was a liar and a murderer from the beginning, and spoke of himself and not from God. And so the truth stopped them, and bound them, and came over all the highest notions in the nation, and confounded them. For by the power of the Lord God I was manifest, and sought to be made manifest to the Spirit of God in all; that by it (which they vexed, and quenched, and grieved) they might be turned to God, as many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ by the Spirit of God, and were come to sit under his teaching.

After this meeting at Reading I passed up to London, where I stayed a while, and had large meetings, and then went into Essex, and came to Cogshall. And there was a meeting of about two thousand people, as it was judged,

which lasted several hours, and a glorious meeting it was, for the word of life was freely declared, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and their saviour, the way, the truth, and the life.

On the sixth day of that week I had a meeting near Colchester, to which many professors and the independent teachers came. After I had done speaking, and was stepped down from the place on which I stood, one of the independent teachers began to make a jangling, which Amor Stoddart (who was with me) perceiving, he said to me, stand up again, George; for I was going away, and did not at first hear them. But when I heard the jangling independent, I stood up again; and after a while the Lord's power came over him and his company, and they were confounded, and the Lord's truth went over all. And a great flock of sheep hath the Lord Jesus Christ in that country, that feed in his pastures of life. On the first-day following we had a very large meeting at another place, not far from Colchester, wherein the Lord's power was eminently manifested, and the people were very well satisfied, for they were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching, and they received it gladly. Many of these people had been of the stock of the martyrs.

As I passed through Colchester, I went to visit James Parnel in prison, but the cruel jailer would hardly let us come in, or stay with him. Very cruel they were unto him; the jailer's wife threatened to have his blood, and in that jail they did destroy him, as the reader may see at large in a book printed soon after his death, giving an account of his life and death; and also in an epistle printed with his collected books and writings.

From Colchester I went to Ipswich, where we had a little meeting, and very rude; but the Lord's power came over them. After the meeting I said, if any had a desire to hear further, they might come to the inn; and there came in a company of rude butchers, that had abused friends, but the Lord's power so chained them that they could not do mischief. Then I writ a paper, and gave it forth to the town, warning them of the day of the Lord, that they might repent of the evils they lived in, and directing them to Christ, their teacher, and way; exhorting them to forsake their hireling teachers.

We passed from Ipswich to Mendlesham, where Robert Duncan lived, in Suffolk, where we had a large meeting, that was quiet, and the Lord's power was preciousely felt amongst us. Then we passed to a meeting at one captain Lawrence's in Norfolk, where, it was judged, were above

a thousand people, and all was quiet. Many persons of note were there, and a great convincement there was, for they were turned to Christ, their way and their teacher, and many of them received him, and sate down under him, their vine. Here we parted with Amor Stoddart, and some more friends, who intended to meet us again in Huntingdonshire.

About the second hour in the morning we took horse for Norwich, where Christopher Atkins, that dirty man, had run out, and brought dishonour upon the blessed truth and name of the Lord. But he had been judged and denied by friends; and afterwards he gave forth a paper of condemnation of his sin and evil. So we came to Yarmouth, and there stayed a while, where there was a friend, one Thomas Bond, in prison for the truth of Christ. There we had some service for the Lord, and some were turned to the Lord in that town. From thence we rode to another town, about twenty miles off, where were many tender people, and I was moved of the Lord to speak to the people, as I sate upon my horse, in several places as I passed along. We went on to another town about five miles from thence, and set up our horses at an inn, having travelled five and forty miles that day, Richard Hubberthorn and I. There were some friendly people in the town, and we had a tender broken meeting amongst them, in the Lord's power, to his praise.

We bid the hostler have our horses ready by the third hour in the morning; for we intended to ride to Lynn, about three and thirty miles, next morning. But when we were in bed at our inn, about the eleventh hour at night came the constable and officers, with a great rabble of people into the inn, and said they were come with an hue and cry from a justice of peace (that lived near that town about five miles off, where I had spoken to the people in the streets, as I rode along) to search for two horsemen, that rode upon grey horses, and in grey clothes; an house having been broken up upon the seventh day before at night, as they said. We told them we were honest and innocent men, and abhorred such things: yet they apprehended us, and set a guard with halberts and pikes upon us that night; making some of those friendly people, with others, to watch us. Next morning we were up betimes, and the constable with his guard carried us before a justice of peace about five miles off; and we took two or three of the sufficient men of the town with us, who had been with us at the great meeting at captain Lawrence's, and could testify that we lay both the seventh day night, and the first

day night, at captain Lawrence's; and it was the seventh day night that they said the house was broken up. Now the reader is to be informed, that during the time that I was a prisoner at the Mermaid at Charing-cross (of which an account is given before) this captain Lawrence brought several independent justices to see me there, with whom I had a great deal of discourse, which they took offence at. For they pleaded for imperfection, and to sin as long as they lived; but did not like to hear of Christ's teaching his people himself, and making people as clear, whilst here upon the earth, as Adam and Eve were before they fell. Now these justices had plotted together this mischief against me in the country, pretending an house was broken up; that so they might send their hue and cry after me; so great was their malice against the righteous and the just. They were vexed also, and troubled, to hear of the great meeting at John Lawrence's aforesaid; for there was a colonel convinced there that day, that lived and died in the truth. But Providence so ordered it, that the constable carried us to a justice about five miles onward in our way towards Lynn, who was not an independent justice, as the rest were. When we were brought before him, he began to be angry, because we did not put off our hats to him. I told him, I had been before the Protector, and he was not offended at my hat; and why should he be offended at it, who was but one of his servants. Then he read the hue and cry; and I told him, that that night, wherein the house was said to be broken up, we were at captain Lawrence's house; and that we had several men here present could testify the truth thereof. Thereupon the justice, having examined us and them, said, he believed we were not the men that had broken the house; but he was sorry, he said, that he had no more against us. We told him, he ought not to be sorry for not having evil against us; but rather to be glad: for to rejoice, when he got evil against people, as for house-breaking, or the like, was not a good mind in him. It was a good while yet, before he would resolve, whether to let us go, or send us to prison: and the wicked constable stirred him up against us, telling him, we had good horses, and that if it pleased him, he would carry us to Norwich jail. But we took hold of the justice's confession, that he believed we were not the men that had broken the house, and after we had admonished him to fear the Lord in his day, the Lord's power came over him, so that he let us go: and so their snare was broken. A great people were afterward gathered to the Lord in that town, where I was moved to

speak to them in the street ; and from whence the hue and cry came.

Being set at liberty, we travelled to Lynn ; whither we came about the third hour in the afternoon. And having set up our horses, we met with Joseph Fuce, who was an ensign : and we wished him to speak to as many of the people of the town as he could that feared God ; and to the captains and officers to come together : which he did. And we had a very glorious meeting amongst them, and turned them to the spirit of God, by which they might know God and Christ, and understand the scriptures ; and so learn of God and of Christ, as the prophets and apostles did. Many were convinced there that day ; and a fine meeting there is, of them that are come off from the hirelings' teaching, and sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Lynn being then a garrison, we desired Joseph Fuce to get us the gate opened by the third hour next morning (for we had forty miles to ride next day). And by that means getting out early, we came next day by the eleventh or twelfth hour to a town near the Isle of Ely, called Sutton, where Amor Stoddart, and the friends that were with him, met us again. A multitude of people was gathered thither, and there were no less than four priests. The priest of the town made a great jangle ; but the Lord's power so confounded him, that he went away : the other three priests stayed ; and one of them was convinced. One of the other two, whilst I was speaking, came to lean upon me ; but I bid him sit down, seeing he was so slothful. A great conviction there was that day ; and many hundreds were turned from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and from the spirit of error to the spirit of truth, to be led thereby into all truth. People came to this meeting from Huntingdon, and beyond ; and the mayor's wife of Cambridge was there also. A glorious meeting it was, and many were settled under Christ's teaching, and knew him, their Shepherd to feed them ; for the word of life was freely declared, and gladly received by them. The meeting ended in the power of the Lord, and in peace ; and after it was done, I walked out, and went into a garden ; where I had not been long, before a friend came to me, and told me several justices were come to break up the meeting. But many of the people were gone away ; so they missed of their design : and after they had stayed a while, they went away also, in a fret.

That evening I passed to Cambridge : and when I came into the town, the scholars hearing of me, were up, and

were exceeding rude. I kept on my horse's back, and rode through them in the Lord's power; but they unhorsed Amor Stoddart, before he could get to the inn. When we were in the inn, they were so rude there in the courts, and in the streets, that the miners, the colliers and carters could never be ruder. The people of the house asked us what we would have for supper, as is the usual way of inn-keepers: 'Supper!' said I, 'were it not that the Lord's power is over them, these rude scholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces, and make a supper of us.' They knew I was so against their trade, the trade of preaching, which they were there as apprentices to learn, that they raged as bad as ever Diana's craftsmen did against Paul. At this place John Crook met us. When it was within night, the mayor of the town, being friendly, came and fetched me to his house; and as we walked through the streets, there was a bustle in the town; but they did not know me, it being darkish. But they were in a rage, not only against me, but against the mayor also; so that he was almost afraid to walk the streets with me, for the tumult. We sent for the friendly people, and had a fine meeting there in the power of God, and I stayed there all night. Next morning, having ordered our horses to be ready by the sixth hour, we passed peaceably out of town; and the destroyers were disappointed; for they thought I would have stayed longer in the town, and intended to have done us mischief; but our passing away early in the morning, frustrated their evil purposes against us.

Then rode we through the countries to Bishop Starford, where were some convinced; and so to Hertford, where also there were some convinced; and where now there is a large meeting.

From thence we returned to London, where friends received us gladly; the Lord's power having carried us through many snares and dangers. And great service we had for the Lord; for many hundreds were brought to sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour, and to praise the Lord through him. James Nayler also was come up to London; and Richard Hubberthorn and I stayed some time in the city, visiting friends and answering gainsayers; for we had great disputes with professors of all sorts. Many reproaches they cast upon truth, and lying slanderous books they gave forth against us: but we answered them all, and cleared God's truth, and set it over them all; and the Lord's power was over all.

Amongst other services for the Lord, which then lay upon me in the city, I was moved to give forth a paper to

those that made a scorn of trembling and quaking; of which a copy here followeth.

‘ The word of the Lord to all you that scorn trembling and quaking, who scoff at them, and scorn them, and throw stones at them, and belch forth oaths against them, who are trembling and quaking, threatening them, and beating them; strangers ye are to all the apostles and prophets, and are in the generation that stoned them, and mocked them then in those ages. Now ye are the scoffers which they spake of, that are come in the last times: be ye witnesses against yourselves. To the light in all your consciences I speak, that with it you may see yourselves to be from the life of the holy men of God.

‘ Moses, who was a judge over all Israel, he trembled, feared and quaked: when the Lord said unto him, “ I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,” then he trembled, and he durst not behold. This which makes to tremble now, ye teachers and people scoff at, and scorn them in your streets, who witness the power of the Lord. Moses forsook the pleasures of the world, which he might have enjoyed for a season: he might have been called the son of Pharaoh’s daughter; he refused it, and forsook Pharaoh’s house, yet was no vagabond. And David, a king, he trembled; he was mocked, they made songs on him, they wagged their heads at him. Will you profess David’s words, and Moses his words, who are in the generation of your fathers, mockers, scoffers, wonderers and despisers, which are to perish? O blush, and be ashamed of all your profession, and be confounded! Job trembled, his flesh trembled, and they mocked him: so do you now mock them in whom the same power of God is made manifest; and yet you profess Job’s words. O deceitful hypocrites! will ye not own scripture? O for shame, never profess scripture words, and deny the power, which, according to the scripture, makes the keepers of the house to tremble, and the strong man to bow himself. These things both priests, magistrates and people scoff at; but with the power ye are judged, and by the power and life condemned.

‘ The prophet Jeremiah trembled, he shook, his bones quaked, he reeled to and fro, like a drunken man, when he saw the deceits of the priests and prophets, who were turned from the way of God; and they were not ashamed, neither could they blush: such were gone from the light; and such were they that ruled over the people. But he was brought to cry, O foolish people! that had eyes, and

could not see, that had ears, and could not hear, that did not fear the Lord, and tremble at his presence, who placed the sands for bounds to the sea by a perpetual decree, that the waves thereof cannot pass! and he said, "A horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means. Shall not I arise for these things, saith the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged upon such a nation as this?" They were such as did not tremble at the word of the Lord; therefore he called them a foolish people. Hear all ye the word of the Lord, ye foolish people, who scorn trembling, and quaking, and shaking: give over professing the prophet Jeremiah's words, and making a trade of them; for with his words you are judged to be among the scoffers, and scorers, and stockers. For he was stocked by your generation; and you now stock them that tremble at the word of the Lord, at the power of the mighty God, which raises up the seed of God, and throws down the earth which hath kept it down. So you that are in the fall, where death reigneth, enemies of the truth, despising the power of God, as those of your generation ever did. Wo and misery is your portion, except you speedily repent. Isaiah said, "Hear the word of the Lord, all ye that tremble at his word." And he said, "This was the man that God did regard, that was of a broken and contrite heart, and trembled at his word. When their brethren hated them, and persecuted them, saying, Let the Lord be glorified; he shall appear to your joy, but they shall be ashamed." Isa. lxvi. 5. Now all ye scoffers and scorers, that despise trembling, you regard not the word of the Lord: they are not regarded by you, that tremble at the word; which are regarded by the Lord; therefore you are contrary to Isaiah's words. Therefore profess him and his words no more, for shame, nor make a trade of his words. Ye that seek for your gain from your quarter, ye greedy, dumb dogs, that never have enough, ye are they that despise trembling; ye are such as Isaiah cried against, who himself witnessed trembling. Here therefore be ye witnesses against yourselves, that with the light in your consciences ye may see ye are out of the prophet Isaiah's spirit, and are haters of them that tremble, whom the Lord regards; but such you regard not, but hate and persecute, mock and rail against them. But it is manifest that you walk in the steps of your forefathers, that persecuted the prophets. Habakkuk, the prophet of the Lord, trembled; and Joel, the prophet of the Lord, said, "Blow the trumpet in Sion, and let all the inhabitants of the earth trem-

ble : the people shall tremble, and all faces shall gather blackness, and the people shall be much pained." And now this trembling is witnessed by the power of the Lord : this power of the Lord is come ; the trumpet is sounding, the earth is shaking, the inhabitants of the earth are trembling, the dead is arising, and the living is praising God ; and the world is raging, and the scoffers are scorning, and they that witness trembling and quaking wrought in them by the power of the Lord, can scarce pass up and down the streets, but with stones, and blows, and fists, and sticks, or dogs set at them, or pursued with mocks and reproaches. Thus you vent forth your malice against them that witness the power of the Lord, as the prophets did, who are come to the broken heart and contrite spirit, and who tremble at the word of the Lord, whom the Lord regards : these you stone, these you stock, these you set your dogs at, these you scoff and scorn, these you revile and reproach : but those reproaches are our riches ; praised be the Lord, who hath given us power over them. And if you see one, as Habakkuk, whose lips quivered, whose belly shook, who said rottenness was entered into his bones, and who trembled in himself ; if you see such an one in this condition now, ye say he is bewitched. Here again you shew yourselves strangers to that power, to that life, that was in the prophet : therefore for shame, never make a profession of his words, nor a trade of his words ; nor of Joel's, who witnessed trembling, which ye scorn and scoff at. Ye proud scoffers and scorers, misery, misery is your end, except you speedily repent. Daniel, a servant of the most high God, he trembled, his strength and his breath was gone : he was prisoned, he was hated, he was persecuted ; they laid baits and snares for him, in whom the holy Spirit of God was. Now for shame all you that make a profession of Daniel's words, give over your profession, priests and people, who scoff and scorn at trembling : with the light you are seen to be out of Daniel's life, and by the same power you are judged, at which you scorn and scoff. And so here again be ye witnesses against yourselves, that you are scorers and scoffers against the truth ; and with the scripture you are judged to be contrary to the life of the holy men of God. Paul, a minister of God, made by the will of God, a messenger of the Lord Jesus, a vessel of the Lord's, to carry his name abroad into several nations, when the dark, blind world have got some of his words and epistles, you filthy teachers made a trade of them, and get great sums of money for it, and so destroy souls for dishonest gain ; making a trade of his words, and

of the rest of the apostles' and prophets', and of Christ's words, but denying the spirit and life that they were guided by, and that power which shook the flesh and the earth, which the apostle witnessed, who said when he came among the Corinthians, he was then with them in weakness and fear, and in much trembling, that their faith might not stand in the wisdom of words, but in the power of God; in that power which made him to tremble. This power it is that the world, and all the scoffing teachers, scoff at and scorn in your towns, in your villages, in your assemblies, in your ale-houses (for shame lay away all your profession of the apostle's words and conditions!) and some of them that scoff at this power, call it the power of the devil; and some persecute them, and stone and stock, imprison and whip them, in whom that power is made manifest, and lade them with reproaches, as not worthy to walk on the earth; hated and persecuted, as the off-scouring of all things. Here you may see you are in the steps of your fore-fathers, who persecuted the apostles, and acted so against them; stocked them, mocked them, prisoned them, stoned them, whipped them, haled them out of the synagogues, reproached them, and shamefully entreated them. Do not you here fulfil the scripture, and Christ's saying, who said, "If they kill you, they will think they do God service." Yet you make a profession of Christ's words, of the prophets' and apostles' words, and call yourselves churches, and ministers of the gospel. I charge you in the presence of the living God, to be silent, who act such things! and mind the light in your consciences (ye scoffers and scorers) which Christ hath enlightened you withal; that with it ye may see yourselves, what ye act, and what ye have acted; for who act such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God; for all such things are by the light condemned.

'And who come to witness trembling and quaking, the powers of the earth to be shaken, the lustful nature come to be destroyed, the scorning and scoffing nature judged by the light; in it wait to receive power from him who shakes the earth. That power we own, and our faith stands in it, which all the world scoffs at; the lofty ones, the proud ones, the presumptuous ones, which live in presumption, and yet make a profession of the scriptures, as your fathers the pharisees did, who were painted sepulchres and serpents; and as the scribes did, who had the chiefest places in the assemblies, stood praying in the synagogues, and were called of men masters, which Christ cried wo against; who are not come so far as the trembling of

devils, who believed and trembled : let that judge you. The light and life of the scripture is seen and made manifest, and with it all you scoffers, and all you scorers, and all you persecutors and railers are seen.

‘Take warning, all ye powers of the earth, how ye persecute them whom the world nick-name and call Quakers, who dwell in the eternal power of God ; lest the hand of the Lord be turned against you, and ye be all cut off. To you this is the word of God, fear and tremble, and take warning ! for this is the man whom the Lord doth regard, who trembles at his word ; which you, who are of the world, scoff and scorn, stock, persecute and imprison. Here ye may see ye are contrary to God, contrary to the prophets ; and are such as hate what the Lord regards ; which we, whom the world scorns, and calls Quakers, own. And we exalt that power, and honour that power, that makes the devils tremble, and shakes the earth, and throws down the loftiness of man, and the haughtiness of man, and which makes the beasts of the field to tremble, and makes the earth to reel to and fro, and cleaves the earth asunder, and overturneth the world. This power we own, and honour, and preach up, whom the world scornfully calls Quakers : but all scoffers and persecutors, railers and scorers, stockers and whippers, we deny by that power which throweth down all that nature ; as seeing that all who act such things without repentance, shall not inherit the kingdom of God, but are for destruction.

‘So rejoice, all ye righteous ones, who are persecuted for righteousness’ sake, for great is your reward in heaven. Rejoice, ye that suffer for well doing, for ye shall not lose your reward. And wait you in the light, that you may grow up in the life that gave forth the scriptures ; that with it ye may see the saints’ conditions, and with it ye may see all that which they testified against : and there with it ye will see the state of those that did reproach and scoff them ; and did mock them and persecute them ; and did whip and stock them, and haled them out of the synagogues before magistrates. So to you, who are in the same light and life, the same things do they now ; that they may fill up the measure of their fathers. With the light now they are seen, where the light and life, and power of God is made manifest ; for as they did unto them, so will they do unto you. Here is our joy ; and the scripture is fulfilled, and fulfilling : and with the light, which was before the world was, which is now made manifest in the children of light ; with it they see the world, and comprehend it, and the actions of it : for he that loves the world, and turns

from the light, is an enemy to God; he turneth into wickedness; for the whole world lieth in wickedness. He who turns from the light, turns into the works of evil, which the light of Christ testifies against: and by this light, where it is made manifest, all the works of the world are seen and made manifest.'

G. F.

This is to go abroad among the scattered ones, and among the world.

Great was the rage and enmity of the people, professors as well as prophane, against the truth and people of God at this time; and great the contempt and disdain they shewed of friends' plainness. Wherefore I was moved to write the following paper, and sent it forth, directed as

An Epistle to gathered Churches into outward forms, upon the earth.

'All ye gathered churches into outward forms upon the earth, the Son of God is come to reign, and he will tread and trample, and will shake, and make you quake and quiver, you that be found without his life, out of his light, and without his power. His day hath appeared; mortar and clay will you be found. Breaking and shaking, and quaking is coming among you! your high building is to be laid desolate; your professed liberty shall be your bondage: the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it. Tremble, ye hypocrites, ye notionists! the fenced cities shall be laid desolate, the fruitful fields shall become a wilderness; your false joy shall become your heaviness: the time of weeping and desolation draweth nigh! come ye witty ones, see how ye can stand before the Almighty, who is now come to plead with you: you will fall like leaves, and wither like weeds! come you that have boasted of my name, saith the Lord, and have gloried in the flesh, ye shall fade like a flower; who have slain my witness, yet boast of my words, which have been as a song unto you. Come ye novelty-ones, who love novelties, changeable suits of apparel, who be in the fashions, outward and inward, putting on one thing this day, and another the other day; 'I'll strip thee, saith the Lord, I'll make thee bare, I'll make thee naked, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord. What! hast thou professed the prophets' words? hast thou professed the apostles' words, and my Son's words? hast thou covered thyself with their expressions? thinkest thou not that I see thee out of my life? thinkest

thou, thou witty one, to hide thyself where none can see thee? thinkest thou, if thou fliest to the uttermost parts of the earth, that I am not there? Is not the earth mine, and the fulness of it, saith the Lord?' Come all ye that have trusted in your own conceited notions, and knowledge, and wisdom, who were never yet out of the earth, and the lusts of it, and never yet got the load of thick clay off you, and never were out of the drunken spirit, whose imperfection appears, who must be come upon, as a potter's vessel, broken cisterns; and ye that have been made wise in your own conceit, and wise in your own eyes, in which pride hath lifted you up, and not the humility, you must be abased. You have run on with every one after his own invention, and every man hath done that thing that was right in his own eyes, and that which did please himself: this hath been the course of people upon earth. Ye have run on without a king, without Christ, the light of the world, which hath enlightened every one that is come into the world: but now is truth risen, now are your fruits withering. And you that are fortified, and have fortified your strong houses, called your churches, make you your cords strong, the Lord will break you asunder, ye that are gathering in, and ye that are gathered. For the Lord is risen to scatter you; his witness is risen in the hearts of his people, they will not be fed with dead words, nor with that which dies of itself; nor will they be satisfied with the husk which the swine feeds upon. And all ye priests in the nation, and teachers, that now stand against the light, your envy shews that ye be in Cain's way; your greediness shews that ye be in Balaam's way: your standing against the light which hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, doth manifest that you are in Core's way, that spoke the great high words of vanity; ye, whose consciences are seared as with an hot iron, whose judgment doth not linger, whose damnation doth not slumber, who serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but your own bellies; who are the evil beasts spoken of, which have destroyed many families, taken away their cattle, their horses, their goods, even their household goods; destroyed many poor men, even whole families, taking their whole estates from them, whom you do no work for. O! the grievous actions that are seen done by you, the ministers of unrighteousness; whose fruits declare to the whole nation that you are the devil's messengers! your actions declare it; your taking tithes, augmentations, treble damages, Midsummer dues (as ye call them), of them ye do no work for, nor minister to.

' And all ye powers of the earth, beware of holding such

up that be unrighteous. Let not the words of the unrighteous overcome you, lest the righteous judge, the righteous God, the judge of heaven and earth upon you take hold; whose judgment is according to that of God in you, which will let you see when you transgress. Come you proud and lofty ones, who have not considered the handy works of the Lord, but have destroyed them; nor have regarded the way of the Lord, but have had plenty of the creatures, and have therewith fattened up yourselves, and forgot the Lord and his way: O let shame cover your faces here upon earth! come ye, that are given to pleasures, and spend your time and days in sports, and idleness, and fullness; your fruits declare the sins of Sodom: yet you will make a talk of my name, and of my saint's words. But I behold you afar off, saith the Lord; you are proud and lofty; you are bad patterns, and bad examples, that be full, and rich, and idle; who say others are idle, that cannot maintain your lusts. Oh! the unrighteous ballances that are among people! Oh the iniquity in measuring! Oh the oppression in ruling and governing! therefore, because of these things my hand shall come upon you, saith the Lord. For the oppression is entered into the ears of the Lord, who gives rest to the wearied, to the burdened, to the oppressed; who feeds the hungry, and cloaths the naked; who brings the mighty from their seats, and beats the lofty to the ground, and makes the haughty to bend. Come, saith the Lord, ye mockers and scorers, and rebellious ones, light and wild people, vain and heady; you have had your day of joy, you have scoffed, you have mocked and derided my messengers and my ambassadors, who have preached in your streets, and cried in your synagogues and temples; a day of trembling and lamentation shall on you come, when you are not aware. I will take away your pride and your height; I will shake you as a leaf, and bring you to be as men distracted. I will distract you, and make you that you shall not trust one another in the earth, who have joined hand in hand against my servants in the truth. I will smite you with terrors, and bring frets and fears upon you; the cup of my indignation and fury shall you drink. Where will you appear when repentance is hid from your eyes, when profane Esau, your father, is set before you, and Ishmael and Cain, wild and envious, whose fruits declare the stock? Come ye proud priests, who have eaten up the fat of the nation, who by violence have taken other men's goods, whose envy hath slain many, whose wickedness and darkness hath abounded, and whose unrighteousness daily appears: your fruits every day declare it, in

summoning up by writs and subpoenas from most parts of the nation for wages and tithes, such as you do no work for. Oh the abominable unrighteousness! how is the state of man lost, that these things they do not take to heart to feel them! what havock is made in most parts of the nation with such! and all ye priests and teachers, who are railing and brawling in the pulpit, setting people at variance one against another, haters and hateful, provoking people to hate one another, here is the seed of enmity seen, which you have sown and are sowing, whose seed must be bruised by the seed of the woman, which a top of your heads is set.'

G. F.

This year came out the oath of abjuration, by which many friends suffered: and several friends went to speak to the Protector about it, but he began to harden. And sufferings increasing upon friends, by reason, that envious magistrates made use of that oath as a snare to catch friends in, who they knew could not swear at all; I was moved to write to the Protector about it, and other suffering friends, as followeth:

'The magistrate is not to bear the sword in vain, which ought to be a terror to the evil-doers, but the magistrate that doth bear the sword in vain, as he is not a terror to the evil-doers, so he is not a praise to them that do well. Now hath God raised up a people by his power, whom people, priests, and magistrates, who are out of the fear of God, scornfully call Quakers, who do cry against drunkenness (for drunkards destroy God's creatures) and do cry against oaths (for because of oaths the land mourns) and they, drunkards and swearers, to whom the magistrate's sword should be a terror, are, we see, at liberty; but for crying against such many are cast into prison, and for crying against their pride and filthiness, their deceitful merchandize in markets, their cozening and their cheating, their excess and naughtiness, their playing at bowls and shuffle-boards, at cards and at dice, and their other vain and wanton pleasures: for who live in pleasures are dead while they live; and who live in wantonness kill the just. This we know by the spirit of God, which gave forth the scriptures, which God the Father hath given to us, and hath placed his righteous law in our hearts, which law is a terror to evil-doers, and answers that which is of God in every man's conscience. They which act contrary to the measure of God's spirit in every man's con-

science, cast the law of God behind their backs, and walk despitefully against the spirit of grace. The magistrate's sword we see is borne in vain, whilst the evil-doers are at liberty to do evil; and they that cry against such, are for so doing punished by the magistrate, who hath turned his sword backward against the Lord. And now the wicked one fenceth himself, and persecutes the innocent as vagabonds and wanderers, for crying against sin, and against unrighteousness and ungodliness openly, in the markets and in the high-ways; or as railers, because they tell them what judgment will follow them that follow such practices: and here they that depart from iniquity are become a prey, and few lay it to heart. But God will thresh the mountains, and beat the hills, and cleave the rocks, and cast into his press, which is trodden without the city, and will bathe his sword in the blood of the wicked and unrighteous. So they that have drunk the cup of abominations, an hard cup have you to drink, you are the enemies of God; and of you he will be avenged, who be his enemies. Now ye, in whom something of God is remaining, consider; if the sword was not borne in vain, but turned against the evil-doers, then the righteous would not suffer, and be cast into holes, dungeons, corners and prisons, and houses of correction, as peace-breakers, for crying against sin openly, as they are commanded of the Lord, and for crying against the covetousness of the priests, and their false worships, who exact money now of poor people, whom they do no work for. Oh! where will you appear in the day of the Lord? or how will you stand in the day of his righteous judgment? How many jails and houses of correction are now made places to put the lambs of Christ in, for following him, and obeying his commands, which are too many to mention. The royal law of Christ, to do as ye would be done by, is trodden down under foot: so that men can profess him in words and talk; but crucify him wheresoever he appears, and cast him into prison, as the talkers of him always did in the generations and ages past. And the labourers, which God (the master of the harvest) hath sent into his vineyard, do the chief of the priests, and the rulers now take counsel together against, to cast them into prison: and here is the fruits of priests, and people, and rulers, without the fear of God. The day is come and coming, that every man's work doth appear, and shall appear; glory be to the Lord God for ever. So see, and consider the days you have spent, and the days you do spend: for this is your day of visitation. Many have suffered great fines of money, because they

could not swear, but do abide in Christ's doctrine, who saith, "Swear not at all:" and by that means are they made a prey upon, for abiding in the command of Christ. And now many are cast into prison, and are made a prey upon, because they cannot take the oath of abjuration, though they denied all that is contained in it; and by that means many of the messengers and ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ are cast into prison, because they will not swear, nor go out of Christ's command. Therefore, O man, consider; to the measure of the life of God in thee I speak. Many also lie in jails, because they cannot pay the priest's tithes; and many have their goods spoiled and treble damages taken of them; and many are whipped and beaten in the houses of correction, without breach of any law: and these things are done in thy name, to protect them in these actions. If men fearing God did bear the sword, and covetousness were hated, and men of courage for God were set up, then they would be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well; and not cause them to suffer. Here equity would be heard in our land, and righteousness would stand up and take place; which giveth not place to the unrighteous, but judgeth it. To the measure of God's Spirit in thee I speak, that thou mayest consider, and come to rule for God: that thou mayest answer that which is of God in every man's conscience: for that is that, which bringeth to honour all men in the Lord. Therefore consider for whom thou dost rule, that thou mayest come to receive power from God to rule for him; and all that is contrary to God may by his light be condemned.

'From a lover of thy soul, who desires thy eternal good.'

G. F.

But sufferings and imprisonments continuing and increasing, and the Protector (under whose name they were inflicted) hardening himself against the complaints that were made unto him, I was moved to give forth the following lines amongst friends, to bring the weight of their sufferings more heavy upon the heads of the persecutors.

'Who is moved by the power of the Lord to offer himself to the justice for his brother or sister, that lies in prison, and to go lie in prison in their stead, that his brother or sister may come forth of prison, and so to lay down his life for his brother or sister? And who lies in prison for tithes, witnessing the priesthood changed, that took tithes, and the unchangeable priesthood come? If

any brother in the light, who witnesseth a change of the old priesthood that took tithes, and a disannulling of the commandment for tithes, be moved of the Lord to go to the priest or impropriator, to offer himself to lie in prison for his brother, and to lay down his life, that he may come forth, he may cheerfully do it, and heap up coals of fire upon the head of the adversary of God. Likewise where any suffer for the truth by them who be in the untruth; if any brother be moved of the Lord to go to the magistrate, judge, general, or protector, and offer up themselves to the prison, to lay down their lives for the brethren, as Christ hath laid down his life for you, so lay down your lives one for another; here you may go over the heads of the persecutors, and reach the witness of God in them all. And this shall lie a judgment upon them all for ever, and be witnessed to by that which is of God in their consciences. Given forth from the Spirit of the Lord through

G. F.

Besides this, I writ also a short epistle to friends, as an encouragement to them in their several exercises; which was as followeth:

‘My dear friends,

‘In the power of the everlasting God, which comprehends the power of darkness, and all the temptations, and that which comes out of it: in that power of God dwell, which will bring and keep you to the word in the beginning; which will keep you up to the life, and to feed upon the same, in which you are over the power of darkness: in that you will find and feel dominion and life. And that will let you see, before the tempter was, and over him; and in that the tempter cannot come; for the power and truth he is out of. Therefore in that life dwell, in which you will know dominion; and let your faith be in the power, and over the weakness and temptations, and look not at them: but in the light and power of God look at the Lord’s strength, which will be made perfect in your weakest state. So in all temptations look at the grace of God to bring your salvation, which is your teacher to teach you: for when you do look or hearken to the temptations, you do go from your teacher, the grace of God, and so are darkened in going from that teacher, which should bring your salvation, the grace of God, which is sufficient in all temptations, to lead out of them, and to keep over them.’

G. F.

After I had cleared myself of those services for the Lord, which lay upon me in the city of London, I passed down through the countries into Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. And at Wellingborough in Northamptonshire I had a great meeting, in which the Lord's everlasting power and truth was over all; and many in that country were turned to the Lord. A great rage was amongst the professors, for the wicked priests, presbyterians and independents, raised lies upon us, as that we carried bottles about with us, which we gave people to drink of, which made them to follow us: but the power and spirit, and truth of God kept friends over the rage of the people. Great spoiling also there was of friends' goods for tithes, by the independent and presbyterian priests, and some baptist-priests, that had gotten into the steeple-houses; as books of friends' sufferings do at large declare.

From Wellingborough I went into Leicestershire, where colonel Hacker had threatened that if I came there he would imprison me again, although the Protector had set me at liberty: but when I was come to Whetston (the meeting from which he took me before) all was quiet there. And thither came colonel Hacker's wife, and his marshal to the meeting, and were convinced: for the glorious, powerful day of the Lord was exalted over all, and many were convinced that day at that meeting. There were at that meeting two, that came out of Wales, who were justices of peace, their names were Peter Price and Walter Jenkin, who came both to be ministers of Christ.

I went from thence to Sileby, to William Smith's, where was a great meeting, to which several baptists came, and one of them, a baptist teacher, was convinced, and came to sit under the Lord's teaching by his spirit and power. This baptist said he had baptized thirty in a day.

From thence I went to Drayton, my native town, where so many priests and professors had formerly gathered together against me, but now never a priest nor professor did appear. I asked some of my relations where were all the priests and professors now. They said, the priest of Non-Eaton was dead, and there were eight or nine of them seeking to get into his benefice. They will let you alone now, said they, for they are like a company of crows, when a rotten sheep is dead, they all gather together to pull out the puddings, and so do the priests for a fallen benefice. These were some of their own hearers that said so of them; but they had spent their venom against me, and the Lord delivered me by his power out of their snares.

Then I went to Badgley, where there was a great meeting from many parts; many came far to it, and many were convinced and turned to the Lord; and they that were convinced, came under Christ's teaching, and were settled upon him, their foundation and their rock.

From thence I passed into Nottinghamshire, and had large meetings there, and so into Derbyshire, where the Lord's power came over all; and many were turned from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and came to receive the Holy Ghost. And great miracles were wrought in many places by the power of the Lord through several.

In Derbyshire James Nailer met me, and told me seven or eight priests had challenged him to a dispute. I had a travel in my spirit for him, and the Lord answered me, and I was moved to bid him go on, and God Almighty would be with him, and give him the victory in his power. And the Lord did so, insomuch that the people saw the priests were foiled, and they cried, a Nailer, a Nailer hath confuted them all. After the dispute was over, he came to me again, praising the Lord. Thus was the Lord's day proclaimed and set over all their heads, and people began to see the apostacy and slavery they had been under to their hireling teachers for means; and they came to know their teacher, the Lord Jesus, who had bought them and purchased them, and made their peace between God and them. While we were here, friends came out of Yorkshire to see us, and were glad of the prosperity of truth.

After this I passed into Warwickshire, through friends, visiting their meetings, and so into Worcestershire, and had a meeting at Birmingham, as I went where several were convinced and turned to the Lord. At length I came to one Cole's house in Worcestershire, near Chattan. This Cole had given an independent preacher a meeting-place, and the independent came to be convinced, and after he was convinced he laid aside his preaching; whereupon the old man — Cole gave him an hundred pounds a year. I had a meeting at that meeting-place, and a very great meeting it was, insomuch that the meeting-place would not hold the people, and many were turned to the Lord that day. Afterwards, when the time of trials came, this independent did not stand to that which had convinced him, but turned back, whereupon the old man took away his 100l. a year from him again. But this old man Cole himself died in God's truth.

Now I heard that at Eversham the magistrates had cast several friends into prison, in several prisons, and that,

hearing of my coming, they made a pair of high stocks. So I sent for Edward Pittaway, a friend that lived near Eversham, and asked him the truth of the thing, and he said it was so. Then I went that night with him to Eversham, and in the evening we had a large precious meeting, wherein friends and people were refreshed with the word of life and with the power of the Lord. Next morning I got up and rode to one of the prisons, and visited friends there, and encouraged them. Then I rode to the other prison, where there were several prisoners, and amongst them one friend, that had been a priest, but was now become a free minister of Christ; his name was Humphrey Smith. So when I had visited the friends at both prisons, and was turned away from the prison to go out of town, I espied the magistrates coming up the town to have seized me in prison. But the Lord frustrated their intents, that the innocent escaped their snare, and the Lord God's blessed power came over them all. But exceeding rude and envious were the priests and professors about this time in those parts.

I went from Eversham to Worcester and had a precious meeting there, and quiet. But after the meeting, as we came down the street towards our inn, some of the professors fell to discourse with friends, and were like to have made a tumult in the city; and as we went into the inn, they all cluttered into the yard, but I went among them, and got them quieted. The next day I walked forth into the town, and had a great deal of discourse with some of the professors, concerning Christ and the way of truth. One of them denied that Christ was of Abraham, according to the flesh, and that he was declared to be the Son of God, according to the Spirit; but I proved from Rom. 1. that he was of the seed of Abraham, being made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and that according to the Spirit he was declared to be the Son of God. Afterwards I writ a paper concerning it.

From Worcester we went to Tewkesbury, where in the evening we had a great meeting; and there came in the priest of the town with a great rabble of rude people, and the priest boasted that he would see whether he or I should have the victory. I turned the people to the divine light, which Christ, the heavenly and spiritual man, had enlightened them withal; that with that light they might see their sins, and that they were in death and darkness, and without God in the world; and with the same light they might see Christ from whom it came, their Saviour and Redeemer, who had shed his blood for them, and died

for them, and who was the way to God, the truth, and the life. Here the priest began to rage against the light, and denied it; for neither priest nor professor could endure to hear the light spoken of. So the priest having railed at the light went away, and left his rude company amongst us; but the Lord's power came over them, though mischief was in their hearts.

Leaving Tewkesbury, we passed back through the country and came to Warwick, where in the evening we had a meeting at a widow-woman's house, whither many sober people came together, and a precious meeting we had in the Lord's power, and several were convinced and turned to the Lord. After the meeting was done and I was walking out, a baptist in the company began to jangle, and the bailiff of the town with his officers came in, and said what do these people here at this time of the night? so he secured John Crook and Amor Stoddart, and Gerrard Roberts, and me, but we had leave to go to our inn (all that were strangers) and to be forth-coming in the morning. The next morning there came many rude people into the inn and into our chambers, desperate fellows; but the Lord's power gave us dominion over them. Gerrard Roberts and John Crook went up to the bailiff to speak with him, and to know what he had to say to us. He said we might go our ways, for he had little to say to us. Then as we rode out of town, it lay upon me to ride to his house to speak to him, and to let him know, that the Protector having given forth an instrument of government, in which liberty of conscience was granted, it was very much, that contrary to that instrument of government, he would trouble peaceable people that feared God. The friends went with me, but the rude people gathered about us with stones; and one of them took hold of my horse's bridle and broke it, but the horse drawing back threw him under him. Though the bailiff saw this, yet did he not stop, nor so much as rebuke the rude multitude, so that it was much we had not been slain or hurt in the streets amongst them, for the people threw stones, and struck at us, as we rode along the town.

When we were come quite out of the town, I told friends it was upon me from the Lord, that I must go back into the town again, and if any one of them felt any thing upon him from the Lord, he might follow me, and the rest that did not, might go on to Dun-cow. So I passed up through the market in the dreadful power of God, declaring the word of life to them, and John Crook followed me. Some struck at me, but the Lord's power was over

them, and gave me dominion over all; and I shewed them their unworthiness of the name of Christians, and the unworthiness of their teachers that had not brought them into more sobriety, and what a shame they were to Christianity!

Having cleared myself, I turned back out of the town again, and passed to Coventry; but when we came thither we found the people closed up with darkness. I went to a professor's house that I had formerly been at, and he was drunk, which grieved my soul so, that I did not go into any house in the town, but rode into some of the streets of the town, and into the market-place, and I felt the power of the Lord God was over the town.

Then I went on to Dun-cow, and had a meeting there in the evening, and some were turned to the Lord by his Spirit, as some also were at Warwick and Tewkesbury before-mentioned. We lay at the Dun-cow that night, and there we met with John Cham, a faithful minister of the everlasting gospel. In the morning there was gathered together a rude company of priests and people, who behaved themselves more like beasts than men, for some of them came riding on horseback into the room where we were; but the Lord gave us dominion over them.

From thence we passed into Leicestershire, where we had a great meeting again at the place where I had been taken formerly; and after that we came back into Warwickshire to Badgley. Here William Edmundson, a friend that lived in Ireland, having some drawings upon his spirit to come over into England to see me, met with me, and by him I writ a few lines to those few friends that were then convinced in the north of Ireland, as followeth:

‘ Friends,

‘ In that which convinced you wait, that you may have that removed you are convinced of. And all my dear friends, dwell in the life and love, and power and wisdom of God, in unity one with another, and with God; and the peace and wisdom of God fill all your hearts, that nothing may rule in you but the life, which stands in the Lord God.’

G. F.

When these few lines were read amongst the friends in Ireland at their meeting, the power of the Lord seized upon them all that were in the room.

From Badgley we passed to Swannington and Higham, and so through the countries into Northamptonshire and

Bedfordshire, having great meetings, and many were turned to the Lord by his power and Spirit. When we came to Baldock in Hertfordshire, I asked if there was nothing in that town, no profession; and it was answered me, there were some baptists and a baptist woman sick. John Rush of Bedfordshire, went along with me to visit her, and when we came in, there were many people in the house that were tender about her; and they told me she was not a woman for this world, but if I had any thing to comfort her concerning the world to come, I might speak to her. So I was moved of the Lord God to speak to her, and the Lord raised her up again to the astonishment of the town and country. Her husband's name was Baldock. This baptist woman and her husband came to be convinced, and many hundreds of people have been at meetings at their house since. Great meetings and convincements there were up and down in those parts afterwards, and many people received the word of life, and sate down under the teaching of Christ, their Saviour.

When we had visited this sick woman, we went back to our inn, and there were two desperate fellows fighting so furiously, that none durst come nigh them to part them. But I was moved in the Lord's power to go to them; and when I had loosed their hands, I held one of them by one hand and the other by the other hand, and I shewed them the evil of their doings, and reconciled them one to the other, that they were loving and very thankful to me; so that people admired at it.

From thence I passed through the country to Market-street, where God had a people, and so through Alban's to London, where friends were glad of the prosperity of truth, and the manifestation of the Lord's glorious power that had delivered us, and carried us through many dangers and difficulties; and I was glad to find truth prosper in the city, and all things well amongst friends there. Only there was one man, whose name was John Toldervev, that had been convinced of truth and run out from it, and the envious priests took occasion from thence to write a wicked book against friends, which they stuffed with many lies, to render truth and friends odious in people's eyes and minds; and they intituled their book, 'The Foot out of the Snare.' But this poor man came to see his folly and returned, and condemned his back-sliding, and answered the priest's book, and manifested all their lies and wickedness. Thus the Lord's power came over them, and his everlasting seed reigned, and reigns to this day.

Now after I had tarried some time in London, and had visited friends in their meetings there, I went out of town again, leaving James Nayler in the city. And as I passed from him I cast my eyes upon him, and a fear struck into me concerning him; but I went away and rode down to Ryegate in Surrey, where I had a little meeting. There the friends told me of one Thomas Moore, a justice of peace that lived not far from Ryegate, and was a friendly moderate man; whereupon I went to visit him at his house, and he came to be a serviceable man in truth.

We passed on to one Thomas Pachin's, where we had a meeting, unto which several friends came from London, and John Bolton and his wife came thither on foot in frost and snow. After we had parted with friends there, we went towards Horsham-park, and having visited friends there, we passed on to Arundel and Chichester, where we had meetings. At Chichester many professors came in, and some jangling they made, but the Lord's power was over them. The woman of the house where the meeting was, though she was convinced of truth, yet not keeping her mind close to that which convinced her, she fell in love with a man of the world that was there that time. When I knew it I took her aside, and was moved to speak to her, and to pray for her; but a light thing got up in her mind, and she slighted it. Afterwards she married that man, and soon after went distracted; for the man was greatly in debt, and she greatly disappointed. Then was I sent for to her, and the Lord was intreated and raised her up again, and settled her mind by his power. And afterwards her husband died, and she acknowledged the just judgments of God were come upon her, for slighting the exhortation and counsel I had given her.

After we left Chichester, we travelled on through the countries till we came to Portsmouth. There the soldiers had us to the governor's house, and after some examination the Lord's power came over them and we were set at liberty, and had a meeting in the town. After which we passed away and came to Ringwood, where in the evening we had a meeting, at which several were convinced and turned to the Spirit of the Lord, and to the teaching of Christ Jesus their Saviour.

From Ringwood we came to Poole, and having set up our horses at an inn, we sent into the town to inquire for such as feared the Lord, and such who were worthy, and we had a meeting there with several sober people, and William Baily, a baptist-teacher, was convinced there at that time. The people received the truth in the inward

parts, and were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ their rock and foundation, their teacher and saviour; and there is become a great gathering in the name of Jesus of a very tender people, who continue under Christ's teaching.

We went also to Southampton and had a meeting there, and several were convinced there also. Edward Pyot of Bristol travelled with me all this western journey.

From thence we went to Dorchester, and alighted at an inn that was a baptist's house, and we sent into the town to the baptists to let us have their meeting-house to meet in, and to invite the sober people to the meeting, but they denied it us. And we sent to them again to know why they would deny us their synagogue; so the thing was noised in the town. Then we sent them word, if they would not let us come to their house, they or any people that feared God, might come to our inn if they pleased; but they were in a great rage, and their teacher and many of them came up, and they slapped their bibles on the table. I asked them why they were so angry; were they angry with the bible? But they fell into a discourse about their water-baptism. I asked them whether they could say they were sent of God to baptize people as John was; and whether they had the same spirit and power that the apostles had? And they said they had not. Then I asked them how many powers there are; whether there are any more than the power of God and the power of the devil? And they said, there was not any other power than those two. Then said I, if you have not the power of God that the apostles had, then you act by the power of the devil. There were many sober people present, who said they have thrown themselves on their backs. Many substantial people were convinced that night, and a precious service we had there for the Lord, and his power came over all. Next morning, as we were passing away, the baptists being in a rage, began to shake the dust from off their feet after us. 'What,' said I, 'in the power of darkness! We, who are in the power of God, shake off the dust of our feet against you.'

Thus leaving Dorchester we came to Weymouth, where also we inquired after the sober people, and about four score of them gathered together at a priest's house, all very sober people, and most of them received the word of life, and were turned to their teacher Christ Jesus, who had enlightened them with his divine light, by which they might see their sins, and him who saved them from their sins. A blessed meeting we had with them, and they received the truth in the love of it with gladness of heart.

The meeting held for several hours, and the state of their teachers, and the apostacy was opened to them, and the state of the apostles and of the church in their days, and the state of the law and of the prophets before Christ, and how Christ came to fulfil them, and how he was their teacher in the apostles' days, and how he was come now to teach his people again himself by his power and spirit. All was quiet, and the meeting broke up peaceably, and the people were very loving; and a meeting is continued in that town to this day, and many are added to them, and some that had been ranters came to own the truth, and to live very soberly.

There was at that time a captain of horse in the town, and he sent to me, and would fain have had me to have stayed longer in the town; but I was not to stay. So he and his man rode out of town with me about seven miles, Edward Pyot also being with me. This captain was the fattest, merriest, cheerfulest man, and the most given to laughter, that ever I met with, insomuch that I was several times moved of the Lord to speak in the dreadful power of the Lord to him; and yet it was become so customary to him, he would presently laugh at any thing that he saw. But I still admonished him to come to sobriety and the fear of the Lord, and sincerity. We laid at an inn that night, and the next morning I was moved to speak to him again when he parted from us. Next time I saw him he told me, that when I spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him, that before he got home he was serious enough, and had left his laughing. He afterwards was convinced, and became a serious and good man, and died in the truth.

Parting from him we went to Honiton, and at our inn inquired what people there were in the town that feared God, and sent for them. There came to us some of the particular baptists, with whom we had a great deal of reasoning. I told them they held their doctrine of particular election in Esau's, Cain's, and Ishmael's nature, and not in Jacob, the second birth; but they must be born again before they enter the kingdom of God. And that as the promise of God was to the seed, not as many but as one, which was Christ, so the election and choice stands in Christ; and they must be such as walk in his light, grace, spirit, and truth. And many more words we had with them.

From thence we passed to Topsham, and staid there on the first-day, but the innkeeper and his people were rude. The next morning we gave forth some queries to the priests

and professors, whereupon some rude professors came into our inn, and had we not gone when we did, they had stopped us. I wore a girdle, which through forgetfulness I left behind me at the inn, and afterwards sent to the innkeeper for, but he would not let me have it again. Afterwards, when he was tormented in his mind about it, he took it and burnt it, lest he should be bewitched by it, as he said; yet when he had burnt it he was more tormented than before. Some, notwithstanding the rudeness of the place, were convinced there; and a meeting was afterwards settled in that town, which hath continued ever since.

After this we passed to Totness, which was a dark town; we lodged there one night at an inn, and that night Edward Pyot was sick, but the Lord's power healed him, so that the next day we got to Kingsbridge, and at our inn inquired for the sober people of the town. They directed us to one Nicholas Tripe and his wife, and we went down to their house. When we were come there, they sent for the priest, with whom we had some discourse, but he being confounded, quickly left us; but Nicholas Tripe and his wife were convinced, and since there is a good meeting of friends in that country. In the evening we returned to our inn; and there being many people drinking in the house, I was moved of the Lord to go amongst them, and to direct them to the light, which Christ, the heavenly Man, had enlightened them withal, by which light they might see all their evil ways, words and deeds, and by the same light they might also see Christ Jesus their Saviour. The innkeeper stood uneasy, seeing it hindered his guests from drinking, and as soon as the last words were out of my mouth, he snatched up the candle, and said, 'Come, here is a light for you to go into your chamber.' Next morning when he was cool, I spake to him of it, and told him what an uncivil thing it was for him so to do; then warning him of the day of the Lord, we got ready and passed away.

We came next day to Plymouth, and after we had refreshed ourselves at our inn, we went to Robert Cary's house, where we had a very precious meeting. There was at this meeting one Elizabeth Trelawny, daughter to one that was called a baronet; she being somewhat thick of hearing came close up to me, and clapped her ear very nigh me, while I spoke, and she was convinced. After the meeting was ended, there came in some jangling baptists, but the Lord's power came over them, and this Elizabeth Trelawny gave testimony thereto. A fine meeting was

settled there in the Lord's power, which hath continued ever since, and many faithful friends have been convinced there.

From thence we passed into Cornwall, and came to an inn in the parish of Menhenniot. At night we had a meeting at Edward Hancock's house, to which came one Thomas Mounce, and a priest, and a great deal of people. We made the priest confess, that he was a minister made by the States, and maintained by the States; and he was confounded and went his way; but many of the people staid. I directed them to the light of Christ, by which they might see their sins, and see their Saviour Christ Jesus, who was the way to God, and their Mediator to make peace betwixt God and them, and was their Shepherd to feed them, and their Prophet to teach them. And I directed them to the spirit of God in themselves, by which they might know the scriptures and be led into all truth, and by the Spirit might know God, and in it have unity one with another. Many were convinced at that time and came under Christ's teaching, and there are fine gatherings in the name of Jesus in those parts at this day.

We travelled from thence through the country, and through Penryn and came to Helston, but could not get to the knowledge of any sober people, through the badness of the innkeepers. At length we came to a village where some baptists and sober people lived, with whom we had some discourse, and some of them were brought to confess, that they stumbled at the light of Christ. They would have had us to have staid with them, but we passed thence to Market Jew; and having taken up our lodging at an inn there, we sent out over night to inquire for any people that feared the Lord. Next morning the mayor and aldermen gathered together, with the high-sheriff of the county, and they sent first the constables to us to bid us come before them. We asked them for their warrant, and they saying they had none, we told them we should not go along with them without a warrant. Upon the return of the constables without us, they sent their serjeants, and we asked them for their warrant, and they said they had none, but they told us, the mayor and aldermen staid for us: we told them, the mayor and his company did not well to trouble us in our inn, and we should not go with them without a warrant. So they went away and came again, and when we asked them for their warrant, one of them plucked his mace from under his cloak; we asked them whether this was their custom to molest and trouble strangers in their inns and lodgings? After some time

Edward Pyot went to the mayor and aldermen, and a great deal of discourse he had with them, but the Lord's power gave him dominion over them all. When he came back there came several of the officers to us, and we laid before them the incivility and unworthiness of their carriage towards us, who were the servants of the Lord God, thus to stop and trouble us in our inns and lodgings, and what an unchristian act it was. Before we left the town I wrote a little paper, to be sent to the seven parishes at the Land's End, to declare that the Lord was come to teach his people himself by his Son Christ Jesus. A copy of which paper here followeth :

'The mighty day of the Lord is come and coming, wherein all hearts shall be made manifest, and the secrets of every one's heart shall be revealed by the light of Jesus, which cometh from Jesus Christ who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that all men through him might believe, and that the world might have life through him, who saith, "Learn of me," and of whom God saith, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him;" and Christ is come to teach his people himself; and every one that will not hear this Prophet which God hath raised up, and which Moses spoke of, when he said, "Like unto me will God raise you up a Prophet, him shall you hear;" every one (I say) that will not hear this prophet is to be cut off. They that despised Moses's law died under the hand of two or three witnesses; but how much greater punishment will come upon them that neglect this great salvation, Christ Jesus, who saith, "Learn of me, I am the way, the truth, and the life," who lighteth every man that cometh into the world; which light lets him see his evil ways and his evil deeds that he hath done; but if you hate that light and go on in evil, this light will be your condemnation, saith Christ: therefore, now ye have time prize it, for this is the day of your visitation and salvation proffered to you. Every one of you hath a light from Christ, which lets you see you should not lie, nor do wrong to any, nor swear, nor curse, nor take God's name in vain, nor steal. It is the light that shews you these evil deeds; which if you love and come unto it and follow it, it will lead you to Christ, who is the way to the Father from whence it comes, where no unrighteousness enters, nor ungodliness. But if you do this light hate, this light will be your condemnation; but if you do it love and come to it, you will come to Christ, and it will bring you off from all the world's teachers and

ways to learn of Christ, and will preserve you from the evils of the world and all the deceivers in it.'

G. F.

This paper a friend who was then with me had, and when we were gone some three or four miles from Market-Jew towards the west, he meeting with a man upon the road, gave him a copy of the paper; that man proved to be a servant to one Peter Ceely, who was major in the army, and a justice of peace in that county, and he riding before us to a place called St. Ives, shewed the paper to his master major Ceely. When we came to Ives, Edward Pyot's horse having cast a shoe, we staid there to have a shoe set, and while he was getting his horse shod I walked down to the sea-side; when I came back I found the town in an uproar, and they were haling Edward Pyot and the other friend before major Ceely; I followed them into the justice's house, though they did not lay hands upon me. When we came in the house was full of rude people, whereupon I asked whether there were not an officer among them to keep the people civil? major Ceely said he was a magistrate. I told him, he should shew forth gravity and sobriety then, and use his authority to keep the people civil, for I never saw any people ruder; the Indians were more like Christians than they. After awhile they brought forth the paper aforesaid, and asked whether I would own it? I said yes. Then he tendered the oath of abjuration to us; whereupon I put my hand in my pocket and drew forth the answer to it, which had been given to the Protector. After I had given him that, he examined us severally, one by one; he had with him a silly young priest, who asked us many frivolous questions, and amongst the rest he asked to cut my hair, which then was pretty long, and I was not to cut it though many times many were angry at it. I told them I had no pride in it, and it was not of my own putting on. At length the justice put us under a guard of soldiers, who were hard and wild, like the justice himself; nevertheless we warned the people of the day of the Lord, and declared the truth to them. On the next day he sent us guarded with a party of horse, with swords and pistols, and they carried us to Redruth. On the first-day the soldiers would have carried us away, but we told them it was their sabbath, and it was not usual to travel on that day. Several of the town's people gathered about us, and whilst I held the soldiers in discourse, Edward Pyot spoke to the people; and

afterwards Edward Pyot held the soldiers in discourse, whilst I spoke to the people, and in the mean time the other friend got out into the back-side, and went to the steeple-house to speak to the priest and people there, and the people were exceeding desperate, in a mighty rage against him, and abused him; the soldiers also missing him were in a great rage, ready to kill us; but I declared the day of the Lord, and the word of eternal life to the people that gathered about us. In the afternoon the soldiers were resolved, and would have us away from thence, so we took horse; and when we were rid to the town's-end, I was moved of the Lord God to go back again, to speak to the old man of the house; the soldiers drew out their pistols, and swore that I should not go back; I heeded them not, but rid back, and they rid after me. So I cleared myself to the old man and the people, and then returned back again with them, and reprov'd them for being so rude and violent.

At night we were brought to a town called Smethick then, but since Falmouth, and it being the evening of the first-day, there came in to our inn the chief-constable of the place and many sober people, and some of them began to inquire concerning us: we told them we were prisoners for truth's sake, and a great deal of discourse we had with them concerning the things of God. They were very sober and very loving to us, and some of them were convinced, and stood faithful ever after.

After the constable and people aforesaid were gone, other people came in, who also were very civil, and went away very loving. When all were gone we went to our chamber to go to bed, and about the eleventh hour Edward Pyot said, 'I will shut the door, it may be some may come to do us a mischief.' Afterwards we understood that captain Keat, who commanded the party, had a purpose to have done us some mischief that night; but the door being bolted they missed their design at that time. Next morning captain Keat brings in a brother or kinsman of his, a rude wicked man, and put him into the room, he himself standing without. This evil-minded man walking huffing up and down the room, I bid him fear the Lord; whereupon he ran upon me and struck me with both his hands, and clapping his leg behind me, would fain have thrown me down if he could, but he could not, for I stood stiff and still, and let him strike. And as I looked towards the door, I saw captain Keat look on and see his brother or kinsman thus beat and abuse me; whereupon I said to him, 'Keat, dost thou allow this?' and he said he did; 'Is this manly

or civil,' said I, 'to have us under a guard and put a man to abuse and beat us, is this manly, civil or christian?' So I desired one of our friends to send for the constables, and they came; then I desired the captain to let the constables see his warrant or order, by which he was to carry us, which he did; and his warrant was to conduct us safe to captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, and if the governor should not be at home, then he was to convey us to Launceston jail. I told him, he had broken his order concerning us, for we, who were his prisoners, were to be safely conducted, but he had brought a man to beat and abuse us; so he having broken his order, I wished the constable to keep the warrant. Accordingly he did, and told the soldiers they might go their ways, for he would take charge of the prisoners, and if it cost twenty shillings in charges to carry us up, they should not have the warrant again. I shewed the soldiers the baseness of their carriage towards us, and they walked up and down the house in their dumps, being pitifully blanked and down. The constables went to the castle and told the officers what they had done; the officers shewed great dislike of captain Keat's base carriage towards us, and told the constables that major general Desborow was coming to Bodmin, and that we should meet him, and that it was likely he would free us. Meanwhile our old guard of soldiers came by way of intreaty to us, and promised that they would be civil to us if we would go with them; thus the morning spent till it was about the eleventh hour; and then upon the soldiers' intreaty, and promise to be more civil, the constables gave them the order again, and we went with them. Great was the civility and courtesy of the constables and people of that town towards us, who did kindly entertain us; and the Lord did reward them with his truth, that many of them have since been convinced thereof, and are gathered into the name of Jesus, and sit under Christ their Teacher and Saviour.

Captain Keat, who commanded our guard, understanding that captain Fox, who was the governor of Pendennis Castle, was not at home, but was gone to meet major-general Desborow, did not have us thither, but went with us directly to Bodmin, a town in the way to Launceston. And as we went we met major-general Desborow on the way; the captain of his troop that rode before him, knew me, and said, 'Oh, Mr. Fox, what do you here?' I replied, 'I am a prisoner;' 'alack,' said he, 'for what?' I told him, 'I was taken up as I was travelling:' 'then' said he, 'I will speak to my lord, and he will set you at liberty.'

So he came from the head of his troop and rode up to the coach, and spoke to the major-general; we also gave him an account how we were taken. He began to speak against the light of Christ, for which I reprov'd him; then he told the soldiers they might carry us to Launceston, for he could not stay to talk with us lest his horses should take cold.

So to Bodmin we were had that night; and when we were come to our inn, captain Keat, who was gone in thither before us, put me into a room and went his way. When I was come in, there stood a man with a naked rapier in his hand; whereupon I turned out again and called for captain Keat, and said unto him, 'What now, Keat, what trick hast thou played now, to put me into a room where there is a man with his naked rapier, what is thy end in this?' 'Oh,' said he, 'pray hold your tongue, for if you speak to this man we cannot all rule him, he is so devilish.' Then, said I, 'Dost thou put me into a room where there is such a man with a naked rapier, that thou sayest you cannot rule him? What an unworthy bad trick is this, and to put me singly into this room from the rest of my friends, that were my fellow-prisoners with me?' Thus his plot was discovered, and the mischief they intended was prevented. And afterward we got another room where we were together all night; and in the evening we declared the truth to the people, but they were an hardened dark people: and the soldiers, notwithstanding their fair promises, were very rude and wicked to us again, and sat up drinking and roaring all night.

Next day we were brought to Launceston, and there captain Keat delivered us to the gaoler. Now was there no friend nor friendly people near us; and the people of the town was a dark, hardened people. The gaoler required us to pay seven shillings a week for our horse-meat, and seven shillings a week for our diet a piece: but after some time, several sober people came to see us, and some of the town came to be convinced; and many friendly people out of several parts of the country came to visit us, and were convinced. Then got up a great rage among the professors and priests against us; and they said, this people thou and thee all men without respect, and they will not doff their hats, nor bow the knee to any man: this made them fret. But, said they, we shall see, when the assize comes, whether they will dare to thou and thee the judge, and keep on their hats before him: and they expected we should all be hanged at the assize. But all this was little to us, for we saw how God would stain the world's honour

and glory; and we were commanded not to seek that honour, nor give it; but knew the honour that came from God only, and sought that.

It was nine weeks from the time of our commitment to the assizes: and when the assize came, abundance of people came from far and near to hear the trial of the Quakers. There was one captain Bradden, that lay with his troop of horse there at that time, whose soldiers and the sheriff's men guarded us up to the court through the multitude of people that filled the streets, and much ado they had to get us through them; besides the doors and windows were filled with people looking out upon us. When we were brought into the court, we stood a pretty while with our hats on, and all was quiet, and I was moved to say, 'Peace be amongst you! After that, judge Glyn, a Welchman, who was then chief justice of England, said to the gaoler, 'What be these you have brought here into the court?' 'Prisoners, my lord,' said he. 'Why do you not put off your hats,' said the judge to us: we said nothing. 'Put off your hats,' said the judge again: still we said nothing. Then said the judge, 'The court commands you to put off your hats.' Then I spake, and said, 'Where did ever any magistrate, king, or judge, from Moses to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before them in their courts, either amongst the Jews, the people of God, or amongst the heathens: and if the law of England doth command any such thing, shew me that law either written or printed.' Then the judge grew very angry, and said, I do not carry my law-books on my back. But, said I, tell me where it is printed in any statute-book, that I may read it. Then said the judge, 'Take him away, prevaricator! I will ferk him.' So they took us away, and put us among the thieves. Presently after he calls to the gaoler, 'Bring them up again.' 'Come, said he, where had they hats from Moses to Daniel; come answer me: I have you fast now,' said he. I replied, 'Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hose, and their hats on.' This plain instance stopped him: so that not having any thing else to say, he cried again, 'Take them away, gaoler.' Accordingly we were taken away, and thrust in among the thieves, where we were kept a great while; and then, without being called again, the sheriff's men and the troopers made way for us (but we were almost spent) to get through the crowd of people, and so guarded us to the prison again, a multitude of people following us, with whom we had much discourse and reasoning at the

gaol. We had got some very good books to set forth our principles, and to inform the people of the truth; which the judge and justices hearing of, they sent captain Bradden for them, who came into the gaol to us, and violently took our books from us, some out of Edward Pyot's hands, and carried them away, so that we never got them again.

In the afternoon we were had up again into the court by the gaoler and sheriff's men, and troopers, who had a mighty toil to get us through the crowd of people. When we were in the court, waiting to be called, I seeing both the jury-men, and such a multitude of others swearing, it grieved my life to see that such as professed Christianity should so openly disobey and break the commands of Christ and the apostle. And I was moved of the Lord God to give forth a paper against swearing, which I had about me, to the grand and petty juries, which was as followeth:

Concerning Swearing.

'Take heed of giving people oaths to swear: for Christ our Lord and Master saith, "Swear not at all; but let your communications be yea yea, and nay nay: for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil." And if any man was to suffer death, it must be by the hand of two or three witnesses; and the hands of the witnesses were to be put first upon him to put him to death. And the apostle James saith, "My brethren, above all things swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath, lest ye fall into condemnation." Now you may see, those that swear fall into condemnation, and are out of Christ's and the apostle's doctrine. Therefore, every one of you having a light from Christ, who saith, I am the light of the world, and doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world; who saith, Learn of me, whose doctrine is, not to swear; and the apostle's doctrine is, not to swear; but let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay in all your communications; for whatsoever is more, cometh of evil: so then, they that go into more than yea and nay, go into the evil, and are out of the doctrine of Christ. Now if you say, that the oath was the end of controversy and strife, they who be in strife, are out of Christ's doctrine; for he is the covenant of peace: and who be in it, are in the covenant of peace. And the apostle brings that but as an example: as, men swearing by the greater; and, the oath was the end of controversy and strife among men; and said, verily, men swear by the greater: but God could not find a greater,

but swears by himself, concerning Christ; which when he was come, taught not to swear at all: so such as be in him, and follow him, cannot but abide in his doctrine. Now, if you say they swore under the law, and under the prophets, Christ is the end of the law, and of the prophets to every one that doth believe for righteousness' sake. Now mark; "If you believe, I am the light of the world, which doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world," saith Christ, by whom it was made; now every man of you that is come into the world, being enlightened with a light that comes from Christ, by whom the world was made, that all of you through him might believe, that is the end for which he doth enlighten you. Now if you do believe in the light as Christ commands, and saith, believe in the light, that you may be children of light, you believe in Christ, and come to learn of him, who is the way to the Father. And this is the light which shews the evil actions you have all acted, the ungodly deeds you have ungodly committed, and all the ungodly speeches you have spoken; and all your oaths and cursed speaking, and ungodly actions. Now if you hearken to this light, it will let you see all the actions that you have done contrary to it; and loving it, it will turn you from your evil deeds, evil actions, evil ways, evil words, to Christ, who is not of the world; who is the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; who testifies against the world, that the deeds thereof are evil. And so doth the light in every man, that he hath received from him, testify against his works and deeds that be evil, that they be contrary to the light, which he shall give an account of at the day of judgment for every idle word that is spoken; which light shall bring every tongue to confess, yea, and every knee to bow at the name of Jesus; which light, if you believe in, you shall not come into condemnation, but come to Christ, who is not of the world; to him by whom it was made: but if you believe not in the light, this is your condemnation, the light, saith Christ.'

G. F.

This paper passing among them from the jury to the justices, they presented it to the judge; so that when we were called before the judge, he bade the clerk give me that paper; and then asked me, whether that seditious paper was mine; I told him, If they would read it up in open court, that I might hear it, if it was mine I would own it, and stand by it. He would have had me to have taken it, and looked upon it in my own hand: but I again desired that it might be read, that all the country might

hear it, and judge whether there was any sedition in it or no; for if there were I was willing to suffer for it. At last the clerk of the assize read it with an audible voice, that all the people might hear it: and when he had done, I told them, it was my paper, and I would own it; and so might they too, except they would deny the scripture: for was not this scripture language, and the words and commands of Christ, and the apostle, which all true Christians ought to obey? then they let fall that subject; and the judge fell upon us about our hats again, bidding the gaoler take them off, which he did, and gave them unto us; and we put them on again. Then we asked the judge and the justices, what we had lain in prison for these nine weeks, seeing they now objected nothing to us but about our hats; and as for putting off our hats I told them that was the honour which God would lay in the dust, though they made so much ado about it; the honour which is of men, and which men seek one of another, and is the mark of unbelievers: for how can ye believe, saith Christ, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only? and Christ saith, "I receive not honour from men;" and all true Christians should be of his mind. Then the judge began to make a great speech, how he represented the lord Protector's person; and he had made him lord chief justice of England, and sent him to come that circuit, &c. We desired him then that he would do us justice for our false imprisonment which we had suffered nine weeks wrongfully. But instead of that, they brought in an indictment that they had framed against us; such a strange thing, and so full of lies, that I thought it had been against some of the thieves; how that we came by force and arms, and in an hostile manner into the court; who were brought, as aforesaid. I told them, it was all false: and still we cried for justice for our false imprisonment, being taken up in our journey without cause by major Ceely. Then this Peter Ceely spake to the judge, and said, 'May it please you, my lord, this man (pointing to me) went aside with me, and told me how serviceable I might be for his design; that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning, and involve the nation in blood, and so bring in king Charles: and I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. And if it please you, my lord, I have a witness to swear it:' and so he called upon his witness: but the judge not being forward to examine the witness, I spake to the judge, and desired that he would be pleased to let my mittimus be read in the face of the court and country, in which my crime was sig-

nified, for which I was sent to prison. The judge said it should not be read; I said it ought to be, seeing it concerned my liberty and my life. The judge said again, 'It shall not be read;' but I said it ought to be read; for if I have done any thing worthy of death, or of bonds, let all the country know it. Then seeing they would not read it, I spake to one of my fellow-prisoners, 'Thou hast a copy of it, read it up,' said I. 'It shall not be read,' said the judge; 'Jailer,' said he, 'take him away, I will see whether he or I shall be master.' So I was taken away; and awhile after called for again: and I still cried to have my mittimus read up; for that signified the cause of my commitment: wherefore I again spake to the friend that was my fellow-prisoner, and bade him read it up; and he did read it up, and the judge, justices, and whole court were silent; for the people were eager to hear it: which is as followeth:

Peter Ceely, one of the Justices of the Peace of this County, to the Keeper of His Highness's Jail at Launceston, or his lawful Deputy in that behalf, Greeting.

'I send you herewithal by the bearers hereof, the bodies of Edward Pyot of Bristol, and George Fox of Drayton and Clea, in Leicestershire, and William Salt of London, which they pretend to be the places of their habitations, who go under the notion of Quakers, and acknowledge themselves to be such; who have spread several papers, tending to the disturbance of the public peace, and cannot render any lawful cause of coming into these parts, being persons altogether unknown, and having no pass for their travelling up and down the country, and refusing to give sureties of their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided, and refuse to take the oath of abjuration, &c. These are therefore, in the name of his highness the lord Protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the said Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt, shall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in his highness's prison aforesaid you safely keep them, until by due course of law they shall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand and seal, at St. Ives, the eighteenth day of January, 1655.'

P. Ceely.

When it was read I spake thus to the judge and justices: 'Thou that sayest thou art chief justice of England, and

you, that be justices, ye know, that if I had put in sureties, I might have gone whither I pleased ; and have carried on the design (if I had had one) which major Ceely hath charged me with : and if I had spoken those words to him, which he hath here declared, then judge ye, whether bail or mainprize could have been taken in that case.' Then, turning my speech to major Ceely, I said, ' When or where did I take thee aside ? Was not thy house full of rude people, and thou as rude as any of them at our examination, so that I asked for a constable or some other officer, to keep the people civil ? But if thou art my accuser, why sittest thou on the bench ? That is not a place for thee to sit in, for accusers do not use to sit with the judges : thou oughtest to come down, and stand by me, and look me in the face. Besides, I would ask the judge and justices this question, whether or no major Ceely is not guilty of this treason, which he charges against me, in concealing it so long as he hath done ? Does he understand his place either as a soldier or a justice of the peace ? For he tells you here, that I went aside with him, and told him what a design I had in hand, and how serviceable he might be for my design : that I could raise forty thousand men in an hour's time, and bring in king Charles, and involve the nation in blood. He saith moreover, he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go ; and therefore he committed me to prison for want of sureties for the good behaviour, as the mittimus declares. Now do not you see plainly that major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treason that he talks of, and hath made himself a party to it, by desiring me to go out of the country, and demanding bail of me, and not charging me with this pretended treason till now, nor discovering it ? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his devilish design.' So that business was let fall : for the judge saw clear enough, that instead of ensnaring me, he hath ensnared himself.

Then this major Ceely got up again and said, ' If it please you, my lord, to hear me : this man struck me, and gave me such a blow, as I never had in my life.' At this I smiled in my heart, and said, ' Major Ceely, thou art a justice of peace, and a major of a troop of horse, and tells the judge here in the face of the court and country, that I (who am a prisoner) struck thee, and gave thee such a blow, as thou never hadst the like in thy life ? What ! art thou not ashamed ? Prithee, major Ceely, said I, where did I strike thee ? and who is thy witness for that ? who was by ?' He said it was in the Castle-green, and that captain Bradden was standing by when I struck him. I

desired the judge to let him produce his witness for that : and I called again upon major Ceely to come down from off the bench, telling him it was not fit that the accuser should sit as judge over the accused. Now when I called again for his witnesses, he said captain Bradden was his witness. Then I said, ' Speak captain Bradden, didst thou see me give him such a blow, and strike him, as he saith ? ' Captain Bradden made no answer ; but bowed his head towards me. I desired him to speak up if he knew any such thing : but he only bowed his head again. ' Nay, said I, speak up, and let the court and country hear, and let not bowing of the head serve the turn. If I have done so, let the law be inflicted on me ; I fear not sufferings, nor death itself, for I am an innocent man concerning all this charge.' But captain Bradden never testified to it : and the judge finding those snares would not hold, cried, ' Take him away, jailer : ' and then, when we were taken away, he fined us twenty marks a piece for not putting off our hats ; and to be kept in prison till we paid it : and so sent us back to jail again.

At night captain Bradden came to see us, and seven or eight justices with him, who were very civil to us, and told us they did believe neither the judge nor any in the court did believe any of those charges which major Ceely had charged upon me in the face of the country. And captain Bradden said, major Ceely had an intent to have taken away my life if he could have got another witness. ' But,' said I, ' captain Bradden, why didst not thou witness for me, or against me, seeking major Ceely produced thee for a witness, that thou sawest me strike him ? and when I desired thee to speak either for me or against me, according to what thou sawest or knewest, thou wouldst not speak.' ' Why,' said he, ' when major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the Castle-green, he put off his hat to you, and said, ' How do you do, Mr. Fox ? Your servant Sir.' Then you said to him, ' Major Ceely, take heed of hypocrisy, and of a rotten heart : for when came I to be thy master, and thou my servant ? Do servants use to cast their masters into prison ? ' This was the great blow he meant that you gave him.' Then I called to mind that they walked by us, and that he spake to me as aforesaid ; and I spake those words to him before mentioned ; which hypocrisy and rotten-heartedness he manifested openly, when he complained of this to the judge in open court, and in the face of the country ; and would have made them all believe that I struck him outwardly with my hand.

Now were we kept in prison, and divers people came

from far and nigh, to see us; of whom some were people of account in the world; for the report of our trial was spread abroad, and our boldness and innocency in our answers to the judge and court was talked of in town and country. Among others that came to visit us, there was one Humphry Lower, a grave, sober, ancient man, who had been a justice of peace formerly; and he was very sorry we should lie in prison, telling us how serviceable we might be if we were out of prison. But we reasoned with him concerning swearing: and having acquainted him how they tendered the oath of abjuration to us, as a snare, because they knew we could not swear, we shewed him that no people could be serviceable to God, if they disobeyed the command of Christ: and that they that imprisoned us for the hat-honour, which was of men, and which men sought for, they prisoned the good, and vexed and grieved the Spirit of God in themselves, which should have turned their minds to God. So we turned him to the Spirit of God in his heart, and to the light of Christ Jesus; and he was thoroughly convinced, and continued so to his death, and was very serviceable to us.

There came also to see us one colonel Rouse, a justice of peace, with a great company with him; and he was as full of words and talk as ever I heard any man in my life, so that there was no speaking to him. At length I asked him whether he had ever been at school, and knew what belonged to questions and answers; (this I said to stop him). 'At school!' said he, 'Yes.' 'At school!' said the soldiers; 'doth he say so to our colonel, that is a scholar!' Then said I, 'If he be so let him be still, and receive answers to what he hath said.' Then I was moved of the Lord to speak the word of life to him in God's dreadful power; which came so over him that he could not open his mouth: his face swelled and was red like a turkey, and his lips moved, and he mumbled something, but the people thought he would have fallen down. I stepped to him, and he said he was never so in his life before: for the Lord's power stopped the evil power and air in him; so that he was almost choaked. The man was ever after very loving to friends, and not so full of airy words to us; though he was a man full of pride; but the Lord's power came over him and the rest that were with him.

Another time there came another officer of the army, a very malicious bitter professor, whom I had known in London: and he was full of his airy talk also, and spake slightly of the light of Christ, and against the truth, as colonel Rouse had done, and against the Spirit of God

being in men, as it was in the apostles' days; till the power of God that bound the evil in him, had almost choaked him also, as it did colonel Rouse: for he was so full of evil air that he could not speak, but blubbered and stuttered. But from that time that the Lord's power struck him, and came over him, he was ever after more loving to us.

Now the assize being over, and we settled in prison upon such a commitment, as we were not likely to be soon released, we broke off from giving the jailer seven shillings a week a piece for our horses, and seven shillings a week for ourselves; and sent our horses out into the country. Upon which the jailer grew very wicked and devilish, and put us down into doomsdale, a nasty, stinking place, where they used to put witches and murderers, after they were condemned to die. The place was so noisome, that it was observed few that went in did ever come out again in health, for there was no house of office in it, and the excrements of the prisoners that from time to time had been put there, had not been carried out (as we were told) for many years. So that it was all like mire, and in some places to the top of the shoes in water and piss; and he would not let us cleanse it, neither would he let us have beds or straw to lie on. At night some friendly people of the town brought us a candle and a little straw, and we went to burn a little of our straw to take away the stink. The thieves lay over our heads, and the head jailer lay in a room by them, over our heads also. Now it seems the smoke went up into the room where the jailer lay; which put him into such a rage, that he took up the pots of excrements of the thieves, and poured them down through a hole upon our heads in doomsdale; so that we were so bespattered with the excrements, that we could not touch ourselves nor one another. And the stink increased upon us, so that what with stink and what with smoke, we had like to have been choaked and smothered in doomsdale. For, we had the stink under our feet before, but now we had it on our heads and backs also: and he having quenched our straw with the filth he poured down, had made a great smother in the place. Moreover he railed on us most hideously, calling us hatchet-faced dogs, and such strange names as we had never heard of. In this manner were we fain to stand all night, for we could not sit down, the place was so full of filthy excrements; and a great while he kept us after this manner, before he would let us cleanse it, or suffer us to have any victuals brought in but what we had through the grate. One time a lass

brought us a little meat, and he arrested her for breaking his house, and sued her in the town-court for breaking the prison : and a great deal of trouble he put the young woman to, whereby others were so discouraged, that we had much a do to get water, or drink, or victuals. Near this time we sent for a young woman, one Ann Downer from London, that could write, and take things well in short hand, to buy and dress our meat for us, which she was very willing to, it being also upon her spirit to come to us in the love of God ; and she was very serviceable to us.

This head jailer, we were informed, had been a thief, and was burnt both in the hand and in the shoulder : his wife too had been burnt in the hand. The under jailer had been burnt both in the hand and in the shoulder ; and his wife had been burnt in the hand also. And colonel Bennet, who was a baptist teacher, having purchased the goal and lands belonging to the castle, had placed this head gaoler therein. The prisoners, and some wild people, would be talking of spirits that haunted doomsdale, and walked there, and how many had died in it ; thinking perhaps to terrify us therewith. But I told them and friends, that if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, I was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing ; for Christ our priest would sanctify the walls and the house to us, he who bruised the head of the devil. The priest was to cleanse the plague out of the walls of the house under the law, which Christ, our priest, ended ; who sanctifies both inwardly and outwardly the walls of the house, and the walls of the heart, and all things to his people.

By this time the general quarter-sessions drew nigh ; and the gaoler still carrying himself basely and wickedly towards us, we drew up our sufferings, and sent it to the sessions at Bodmin ; upon the reading of which the justices gave order that doomsdale door should be opened, and that we should have liberty to cleanse it, and to buy our meat in the town. We sent up a copy also of our sufferings to the Protector, setting forth how we were taken and committed by major Ceely ; and how we were abused by captain Keat as aforesaid, and the rest in order : whereupon the Protector sent down an order to captain Fox, governor of Pendennis Castle, to examine the matter about the soldiers abusing us, and striking me. There were at that time many of the gentry of the country at the castle : and captain Keat's kinsman, that struck me, was sent for up before them, and much threatened. They told him that if I should change my principle, I might take the extremity

of the law against him, and might recover sound damages of him. Capt. Keat also was checked, for suffering the prisoners under his charge to be abused. This was of great service in the country, for afterwards friends might have spoken in any market or steeple-house thereabouts, and none would meddle with them. I understood that Hugh Peters, who was one of the Protector's chaplains, told him they could not do George Fox a greater service for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall, than to imprison him there. And indeed my imprisonment there was of the Lord, and for his service in those parts: for after the assizes were over, and it was known we were likely to continue prisoners, several friends from most parts of the nation came into the country to visit us. And those parts of the west were very dark countries at that time; but the Lord's light and truth brake forth and shined over all, and many were turned from darkness to the light, and from Satan's power unto God. And many were moved to go to the steeple-houses; and several were sent to prison to us; and a great convincement there began to be in the country. For now we had liberty to come out, and to walk in the Castle-green; and divers people came to us on the first-days, to whom we declared the word of life; and great service we had among them, and many were turned to God, here and there, up and down the country; but a great rage got up in the priests and professors against the truth and us. One of the envious professors had gathered together many scripture sentences, to prove that we ought to put off our hats to the people; and he invited the town of Launceston to come into the Castle-yard to hear him read them: amongst other instances that he there brought, one was that Saul bowed to the witch of Endor. When he had done, we got a little liberty (whether the jailer would or no) to speak; and we shewed both him and the people that Saul was gone from God, and had disobeyed God, like them, when he went to the witch of Endor: that neither the prophets, nor Christ, nor the apostles ever taught people to bow to a witch. The man went away with his rude people; but some of the people staid with us, and we shewed them that this was not gospel instructions, to teach people to bow to a witch. For now people began to be affected with the truth, and now the devil's rage increased, so that we were in great danger many times.

One time there came a soldier to us; and one of our friends was admonishing of him, and exhorting him to sobriety, &c. and I saw him begin to draw his sword at him. Whereupon I stepped to him, and told him what a

shame it was to offer to draw his sword upon a naked man, and a prisoner; and how unfit and unworthy he was to carry such a weapon; and that if he should have offered such a thing to some men, they would have taken his sword from him, and have broken it to pieces. So he was ashamed, and went his way; and the Lord's power preserved us.

Another time, about the eleventh hour at night, the jailer being half drunk, came and told me that he had gotten a man now to dispute with me (this was when we had leave to go a little into the town): as soon as he spake those words, I felt there was mischief intended to my body. All that night and the next day I lay down on a grass-plot to slumber, and I felt something still about my body; and I started up, and struck at it in the power of the Lord, and yet still it was about my body. Then I arose and walked into the Castle-green, and the under-keeper came to me, and told me there was a maid would speak with me in the prison. I felt a snare in his words too, therefore I went not into the prison, but went to the grate and looked in; and there I saw a man that was lately brought to prison for being a conjuror, and he had a naked knife in his hand. So I spake to him, and he threatened to cut my chaps (as his expression was); but he being within the jail, could not come at me: this was the jailer's great disputant. I went soon after into the jailer's house, and found him at breakfast; and he had then gotten his conjuror out with him; so I told the jailer his plot was discovered. Then he got up from the table, and cast his napkin away in a rage; and I left them and went away to my chamber: for at this time we were out of doomsdale. At the time the jailer had said the dispute should be, I went down and walked in the court (the place appointed) till about the eleventh hour, but no body came; then I went up to my chamber again, and after a while I heard one call for me. I stepped to the stairs'-head, and there I saw the jailer's wife upon the stairs, and the conjurer at the bottom of the stairs, holding his hand behind his back, and in a great rage. I asked him, 'Man, what hast thou in thy hand behind thy back? Pluck thy hand before thee,' said I; 'let us see thy hand, and what thou hast in it.' Then in a rage he plucked forth his hand with a naked knife in it. Then I shewed the jailer's wife the wicked design of her husband and her against me; for this was the man they had brought to dispute of the things of God. But the Lord discovered their plot, and prevented their evil design; and they both raged, and the conjurer threatened. Then I was moved of the

Lord to speak sharply to him in the dreadful power of the Lord; and the Lord's power came over him, and bound him down, so that he never after durst appear before me to speak unto me. I saw it was the Lord alone that did preserve me out of their bloody hands; for the devil had a great enmity to me, and stirred up his instruments to seek my hurt. But the Lord prevented them; and my heart was filled with thanksgivings and praises unto him.

Now while I was exercised with people of divers sorts, that came some out of good will to visit us, some out of an envious carping mind to wrangle and dispute with us, and some out of curiosity to see us, Edward Pyot, who before his convincement had been a captain in the army, and had a good understanding in the laws and rights of the people, being sensible of the injustice and envy of judge Glyn to us at our trial, and willing to lay the weight thereof upon him, and make him sensible thereof also, writ an epistle to him on behalf of us all, which was thus, and thus directed:

To John Glyn, Chief Justice of England.

‘ Friend,

‘ We are free men of England, free born; our rights and liberties are according to law, and ought to be defended by it: and therefore with thee, by whose hand we have so long, and yet do suffer, let us a little plainly reason concerning thy proceedings against us, whether they have been according to law, and agreeable to thy duty and office, as chief minister of the law, or justice of England. And in meekness and lowliness abide, that the witness of God in thy conscience may be heard to speak and judge in this matter: for thou and we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Therefore, friend, in moderation and soberness weigh, what is herein laid before thee.

‘ In the afternoon, before we were brought before thee at the assize at Launceston, thou didst cause divers scores of our books to be violently taken from us by armed men, without due process of law; which books being perused (to see if any thing in them could have been found to have laid to our charge, who were innocent men;) and them upon our legal issue) thou hast detained from us to this very day. Now, our books are our goods, and our goods are our property; and our liberty it is to have and enjoy our property; and of our liberty and property the law is the

defence, which saith, 'No free man shall be disseized of his freehold, liberties or free customs, &c. nor any way otherwise destroyed: nor we shall not pass upon him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.' Magna Charta, cap. 29. Now friend, consider, is not the taking away of a man's goods violently, by force of arms, as aforesaid, contrary to the law of the land? Is not the keeping of them so taken away, a disseizing him of his property, and a destroying of it and his liberty, yea, his very being, so far as the invading of the guard the law sets about him, is in order thereunto? Calls not the law this, a destroying of a man? Is there any more than one common guard or defence to property, liberty, and life, viz. the law? And can this guard be broken on the former (viz. property and liberty), and the latter (viz. life) be sure? Doth not he that makes an invasion upon a man's property and liberty (which he doth, who contrary to law, which is the guard, acts against either) make an invasion upon a man's life; since that which is the ground of the one, is also of the other? If a penny, or penny's-worth be taken from a man contrary to law, may not by the same rule all a man hath be taken away? If the bond of the law be broken upon a man's property, may it not on the same ground be broken upon his person? And by the same reason, as it is broken on one man, may it not be broken upon all, since the liberty and property, and beings of all men under a government are relative, a communion of wealth, as the members in the body, but one guard and defence to all, the law? One man cannot be injured therein, but it redounds to all. Are not such things in order to the subversion and dissolution of government? Where there is no law, what is become of government? And of what value is the law made, when the ministers thereof break it at pleasure upon men's properties, liberties and persons? Canst thou clear thyself of these things, as to us? To that of God in thy conscience, which is just, do I speak. Hast thou acted like a minister, the chief minister, of the law, who hast taken our goods, and yet detainest them, without so much as going by lawful warrant, grounded upon due information, which in this our case thou couldest not have; for none had perused them, whereby to give thee information? Shouldest thou exercise violence and force of arms on prisoners' goods, in their prison chamber, instead of proceeding orderly and legally, which thy place calls upon thee above any man, to tender, defend and maintain against the other, and to preserve entire the guard of every man's being, liberty, life and livelihood? Shouldest

thou, whose duty it is to punish the wrong doer, do wrong thyself? who oughtest to see the law be kept and observed, break the law, and turn aside the due administration thereof? Surely from thee, considering thou art chief justice of England, other things were expected both by us and by the people of this nation.

‘ And friend, when we were brought before thee, and stood upon our legal issue, and no accuser or accusation came in against us, as to what we had been wrongfully imprisoned, and in prison detained for the space of nine weeks, shouldest not thou have caused us to have been acquitted by proclamation? Saith not the law so? Oughtest thou not to have examined the cause of our commitment? And there not appearing a lawful cause, oughtest thou not to have discharged us? Is it not the substance of thy office and duty, to do justice according to the law and custom of England? Is not this the end of the administration of the law? of the general assizes? of the gaol delivery? of the judges going the circuits? Hast not thou by doing otherwise, acted contrary to all these, and to Magna Charta? which, cap. 29, saith, ‘ We shall sell to no man, we shall deny, or defer to no man, either justice or right.’ Hast thou not both deferred and denied to us, who had been so long oppressed, this justice and right? And when of thee justice we demanded, saidest thou not, If we would be uncovered, thou wouldest hear us, and do us justice?— ‘ We shall sell to no man, we shall deny or defer to no man, either justice or right,’ saith Magna Charta, as aforesaid. Again, ‘ We have commanded all our justices, that they shall from henceforth do even law, and execution of right to all our subjects, rich and poor, without having regard to any man’s person; and without letting to do right for any letters or commandments, which may come to them from us, or from any other, or by any other cause, &c. upon pain to be at our will, body, lands and goods, to do therewith as shall please us, in case they do contrary,’ saith Stat. 20. Edw. III. cap. 1. Again, ‘ Ye shall swear that ye shall do even law and execution of right to all, rich and poor, without having regard to any person; and that ye deny to no man common right by the king’s letters, nor none other man’s, nor for none other cause. And in case any letter come to you contrary to the law, that ye do nothing by such letter, but certify the king thereof, and go forth to do the law notwithstanding those letters. And in case ye be from henceforth found in default in any of the points aforesaid, ye shall be at the king’s will of body, lands and goods, thereof to be done, as shall please him,’

saith the oath, appointed by the statute to be taken by all the judges, stat. 18. Edw. III. But none of these, nor none other law hath such an expression or condition in it as this, viz. provided he will put off his hat to you, or be uncovered : nor doth the law of God so say, or that your persons be respected ; but the contrary. From whence then comes this new law, ‘ If ye will be uncovered, I will hear you, and do you justice ? ’ This hearing complaint of wrong, this doing of justice, upon condition, wherein lies the equity and reasonableness of that ? When were these fundamental laws repealed, which were the issue of much blood and war ; which to uphold, cost the miseries and blood of the late wars, that we shall now be heard, as to right, and have justice done us upon condition, and that too such a trifling one as the pulling off the hat ? Doth thy saying so, who art commanded, as aforesaid, repeal them, and make them of none effect, and all the miseries undergone, and the blood shed for them of old, and of late years ? Whether it be so or no indeed, and to the nation, thou hast made it so to us, to whom thou hast denied the justice of our liberty (when we were before thee, and no accuser, nor accusation came in against us) and the hearing of the wrong done to us, who are innocent, and the doing us right. And bonds hast thou cast, and continued upon us until this day, under an unreasonable and cruel jailer, for not performing that thy condition, for conscience sake. But thinkest thou that this thine own conditional justice maketh void the law ? or can it do so ? or absolve thee before God or man ? or acquit the penalty mentioned in the laws aforesaid ? unto which hast thou not consented and sworn ? viz. ‘ And in case ye be from henceforth found in default, in any of the points aforesaid, ye shall be at the king’s will, of body, lands and goods, thereof to be done as shall please him. ’ And is not thy saying, ‘ If ye will be uncovered (or put off your hats) I will hear you, and do you justice ; ’ and (because we could not put them off for conscience-sake) thy denying us justice, and refusing to hear us, as to wrong (who had so unjustly suffered) a default in thee against the very essence of those laws, yea, an overthrow thereof, for which things sake (being of the highest importance to the well-being of men) so just, so equal, so necessary, those laws were made, and all the provisions therein ? to make a default in any one point of which provisions, exposeth to the said penalty. Dost not thou by this time see where thou art ? Art thou sure thou shalt never be made to understand and feel the justice thereof ? Is thy seat so high, and thy fence so great,

and art thou so certain of thy time and station, above all that have gone before thee, whom justice hath cut down, and given them their due, that thou shalt never be called to an account, nor with its long and sure stroke be reached? Deceive not thyself, God is come nearer to judgment than the workers of iniquity in this age imagine; who persecute and evil-intreat those that witness the Just and Holy One, for their witnessing of him who is come to reign for ever and ever. Saith he not, he will be a swift witness against the false swearers? God is not mocked.

‘ Surely, friend, that must needs be a very great offence which deprives a man of justice, of being heard as to wrong, of the benefit of the law, and of those laws afore-rehearsed, to defend the justice and equity of which a man hath adventured his blood and all that is dear to him. But to stand covered (or with the hat on) in conscience to the command of the Lord, is made by thee such an offence (which is none in law) and rendered upon us (who are innocent, serving the living God) effectual to deny us justice, though the laws of God, and of man, and the oath, and equity, and reason, saith the contrary, and on it pronounceth such a penalty. If ye will be uncovered (uncovered, saidest thou) I will hear you, and do you justice; but justice we had not, nor were we heard, because Jesus Christ, who is the higher power, the law-giver of his people, in our consciences commanded us not to respect persons, whom to obey we chuse rather than man. And for our obedience unto him hast thou cast us into prison, and continuest us there till this very day, having shewed us neither law for it, nor scripture, nor instances of either, nor example of heathens or others. Friend, come down to that of God, that is just in thee, and consider, was ever such a thing as this heard of in this nation? What is become of seriousness, of true judgment, and of righteousness! An unrighteous man, standing before thee with his hat off, shall be heard; but an innocent man, appearing with his hat on in conscience to the Lord, shall neither be heard nor have justice. Is not this regarding of persons contrary to the laws aforesaid, and the oath, and the law of God? Understand and judge: Did we not own authority and government oftentimes before the court? Didst not thou say in the court, thou wast glad to hear so much from us of our owning magistracy? Pleaded we not to the indictment, though it was such a new-found one as England never heard of before? Came we not when thou sentest for us? Went we not when thou badest us go? And are we not still prisoners at thy command and at thy will? If

the hat had been such an offence to thee, couldst not thou have caused it to have been taken off, when thou heardest us so often declare we could not do it in conscience to the commands of the Lord, and that for that cause we forbore it, not in contempt of thee or of authority, nor in disrespect to thine, or any man's person: (for we said, we honoured all men in the Lord, and owned authority, which was a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well; and our souls were subject to the higher powers for conscience-sake) as thou causedest them to be taken off, and to be kept so, when thou calledest the jury to find us transgressors without a law? What ado hast thou made to take away the righteousness of the righteous from him, and to cause us to suffer further, whom thou knewest to have been so long wrongfully in prison contrary to law? Is not liberty of conscience a natural right? Had there been a law in this case, and we bound up in our consciences that we could not have obeyed it, was not liberty of conscience there to take place? For where the law saith not against, there needs no plea of liberty of conscience; but the law have we not offended, yet in thy will hast thou caused, and dost thou yet cause us to suffer for our consciences, where the law requires no such thing; and yet for liberty of conscience hath all the blood been spilt, and the miseries of the late wars undergone, and (as the Protector saith) this government undertakes to preserve it, and a natural right, he saith, it is; and he that would have it, he saith, ought to give it. And if it be a natural right, as is undeniable, then to attempt to force it, or to punish a man for not doing contrary to it, is to act against nature; which, as it is unreasonable, so it is the same as to offer violence to a man's life. And what an offence that is in the law thou knowest; and how, by the common law of England, all acts, agreements, and laws, that are against nature, are meer nullities; and all the judges cannot make one case to be law that is against nature. But put the case, our standing with our hats on had been an offence in law, and we wilfully, and in contempt, and not out of conscience had stood so, (which we deny as aforesaid) yet that is not a ground wherefore we should be denied justice, or to be heard as to the wrong done to us. If ye will not offend in one case, I will do you justice in another; this is not the language of the law or of justice, which distributes to every one their right; justice to whom justice is due, punishment to whom punishment is due. A man who doth wrong may also have wrong done to him; shall he not have right wherein he is wronged, unless he right him

whom he hath wronged? The law saith not so; but the wrong-doer is to suffer, and the sufferer of wrong to be righted. Is not otherwise to do a denying, a letting, or stopping of even law and execution of justice, and a bringing under the penalties aforesaid? Mind and consider.

‘And shouldest thou have accused when no witness appeared against us, as in the particulars of striking Peter Ceely, and dispersing books (as thou saidest) against magistracy and ministry, with which thou didst falsely accuse one of us? Saith not the law, the judge ought not to be the accuser, much less a false accuser. And wast not thou such an one, in affirming, that he dispersed books against magistracy and ministry, when as the books were violently taken out of our chamber (as hath been said), undispersed by him, or any of us? Nor didst thou make it appear in one particular, wherein those books thou so violently didst cause to be taken away, were against magistracy or ministry? or gavest one instance, or reply, when he denied what thou chargedst therein, and spake to thee to bring forth those books and make thy charge appear. Is not the sword of the magistrate of God to pass upon such evil-doing? And according to the administration of the law, ought not accusations to be by way of indictment, wherein the offence is to be charged, and the law expressed against which it is? Can there be an issue without an indictment? Or can an indictment be found before proof be made of the offence charged therein? And hast not thou herein gone contrary to the law and the administration thereof, and thy duty as a judge? What just cause of offence gave George Fox to thee, when, upon thy producing a paper concerning swearing, sent by him (as thou saidest) to the grand jury, and requiring him to say whether it was his hand-writing? he answered, read it up before the country, and when he heard it read, if it were his, he would own it? Is it not equal, and according to law, that what a man is charged with before the country, should be read in the hearing of him and of the country? When a paper is delivered out of a man’s hand, alterations may be made in it to his prejudice, which, on a sudden looking over it, may not presently be discerned, but by hearing it read up, may be better understood, whether any such alterations have been made therein? Couldst thou in justice have expected or required him otherwise to do? Considering also, that he was not unsensible how much he had suffered already, being innocent, and what endeavours there were used to cause him further to suffer? Was not what he said, as aforesaid, a plain and single answer, and

sufficient in the law? Though (as hath been demonstrated) contrary to law thou didst act, and to thy office, in being his accuser therein, and producing the paper against him. And in his liberty it was whether he would have made thee any answer to all, to what thou didst exhibit, or demand, out of the due course of law: for to the law answer is to be made, not to thy will. Wherefore then wast thou so filled with rage and fury upon that his reply? Calmly, and in the fear of the Lord, consider, wherefore didst thou revile him, particularly with the reproachful names of juggler and prevaricator? Wherein did he juggle? wherein did he prevaricate? Wherefore didst thou use such threatening language, and such menacings to him and us, saying, thou wouldst ferk us, with such like? Doth not the law forbid reviling, and rage, and fury, and threatening, and menacing of prisoners? Soberly mind, is this to act like a judge or a man? Is not this transgression? Is not the sword of the magistrate of God to pass on this as evil-doing, which the righteous law condemns, and the higher power is against, which judgeth for God? Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment. Wherefore now let the fear of the Lord be upon you, take heed and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts, said Jehoshaphat to the judges of Judah. Pride, and fury, and passion, and rage, and reviling, and threatening, is not the Lord's; it, and the principle out of which it springs, is for judgment, and must come under the sword of the magistrate of God; and it is of an ill savour, especially such an expression, as to threaten to ferk us. Is not such a saying more becoming a pedant, or schoolmaster with his rod or ferula in his hand, than thee, who art the chief justice of the nation, who sittest in the highest seat of judgment, who oughtest to give a good example, and so to judge that others may hear and fear? Weigh it soberly and consider, doth not threatening language demonstrate an inequality, and partiality in him, who sits as judge? Is it not a deterring of a prisoner from standing to, and pleading the innocency of his cause? Provides not the law against it? Saith it not, that irons and all other bonds shall be taken from the prisoner, that he may plead without amazement, and with such freedom of spirit, as if he were not a prisoner? But when he, who is to judge according to the law, shall before-hand threaten and menace the prisoner contrary to the law, how can the mind of the prisoner be free to plead his innocency before him? or expect equal

judgment from him, who, before he hears him, threatens what he will do unto him? Is not this the case between thee and us? Is not this the measure we have received at thy hands? Hast thou herein dealt according to law, or to thy duty? Or as thou wouldest be done unto? Let that of God in thy conscience judge.

‘And didst not thou say, there was a law for putting off the hat, and that thou wouldest shew a law? and didst not thou often so express thyself? But didst thou produce any law, or shew where that law might be found? or any judicial precedent, or in what king’s reign, when we so often desired it of thee, having never heard of, or known any such law, by which thou didst judge us? Was not what we demanded of thee, reasonable and just? Was that a savoury answer, and according to law, which thou gavest us, viz. ‘I am not to carry the law-books at my back, up and down the country; I am not to instruct you?’ Was ever such an expression heard before these days to come out of a judge’s mouth? Is he not to be of counsel in the law for the prisoner, and to instruct him therein? Is it not for this cause that the prisoner, in many cases, is not allowed counsel by the law? In all courts of justice in this nation, hath it not been known so to have been? And to the prisoner hath not this been often declared when he hath demanded counsel, alledging his ignorance in the law, by reason of which his cause might miscarry, though it were righteous, viz. the court is of counsel for you? Ought not he that judgeth in the law, to be expert in the law? Couldst thou not tell by what act of parliament it was made, or by what judicial precedent, or in what king’s reign, or when it was adjudged so by the common law, (which are all the grounds the law of England hath) had there been such a law, though the words of the law thou couldest not remember? Surely, to inform the prisoner when he desired it, especially as to a law which was never heard of, by which he proceeds to judge him, that he may know what law it is by which he is to be judged, becomes him who judgeth for God; for so the law was read to the Jews by which they were to be judged, yea, every Sabbath-day; this was the commandment of the Lord. But instead thereof to say, I am not to carry the law-books at my back up and down the country; I am not to instruct you: to say, there is a law, and to say thou wilt shew it; and yet not to shew it, nor to tell where it is to be found; consider whether it be consistent with savouriness, or with truth, or justice?

‘Have not thy whole proceedings against us made it evi-

dently to appear, that thy desire was to cause us to suffer, not to deliver us, who, being innocent, suffered; to have us aspersed and reproached before the country, not to have our innocency cleared and vindicated? Doth not thy taking away our books as aforesaid, and the perusing of them in such haste before our trial, and the accusing us with something, which thou saidest was contained in them, make it to appear, that matter was sought out of them, where-withal to charge us, when the *et cetera* warrant would not stand in law, by which we stood committed, and were then upon our delivery, according to due course of law? Doth it not further appear, by thy refusing to take from our hands a copy of the strange *et cetera* warrant, by which we were committed, and of the paper for which we were apprehended, to read it or cause it to be read, that so our long sufferings by reason of both might be looked into, and weighed in the law, whether just or righteous, and the country might as well see our innocency and sufferings without a cause, and the manner of dealing with us as to hear such reports as went of us, as great offenders, when we called upon thee often so to do, and which thou oughtest to have done, and saidst, thou wouldst do, but did it not, nor so much as took notice before the country that we had been falsely imprisoned, and had wrongfully suffered? But what might asperse and charge us, thou broughtest in thyself, contrary to law, and didst call to have us charged therewith. Is not this further manifest, in that thou didst cause us on a sudden to be withdrawn, and the petty jury to be called in with their verdict, whereupon Peter Ceely's falsely accusing George Fox with telling him privately of a design, and persuading him to join therein, it was by G. Fox made so clear to be a manifest falsehood, and so plainly to be perceived, that the cause of our sufferings was not any evil we had done, or law that we had transgressed, but malice and wickedness? And is it not abundantly clear from thy not permitting us to answer, and clear ourselves of the many foul slanders charged upon us in the new found indictment, of which no proof was made? but when we were answering thereunto, and clearing ourselves thereof, thou didst stop us, saying, thou mindedst not those things, but only the putting off the hat; when as, before the country, the new found indictment charged us with those things, and the petty jury brought in their verdict, guilty of the trespasses and contempts mentioned therein; of which (except as to the hat) not one witness or evidence was produced; and as to the hat, not any law, or judicial precedent, upon the

transgression of which all legal indictments are only to be grounded? Now the law seeks not for causes whereby to make the innocent to suffer, but helpeth him to right who suffers wrong, and relieveth the oppressed, and searcheth out the matter, whether that, of which a man stands accused, be so or no, seeking judgment, and hastening righteousness; and it saith, the innocent and the righteous slay thou not. But whether thou hast done so to us, or the contrary, let the witness of God in thee search and judge, as these thy fruits do also make manifest.

‘And friend, consider, how abominably wicked, and how highly to be abhorred, denied, and witnessed against, and how contrary to the laws such a proceeding is, as to charge a man with many offences in an indictment, which they who draw the indictment, they who prosecute, and they who find the bill, know to be false, and to be set in purposely to reproach and wound his good name, whom with some small matter which they can prove, they charge and indict; as is the common practice at this day. Prove but one particular charge in the indictment, and it must stand (say they) for a true bill, though there be never so many falsehoods and lies therein, on set purpose to wrong him, who is maliciously prosecuted: this is known to the judges, and almost to every man who hath to do with, and attends, their courts. How contrary is this to the end and righteousness of the law, which clears the innocent, and condemns the guilty, and condemneth not the righteous with the wicked! Much it is cried out of; but what reformation is there thereof? How else shall clerks of assize, and other clerks of courts, fill up their bags (out of which perhaps their master must have a secret consideration) and be heightened in pride and impudence; that even in open court they take upon them to check and revile men; men without reproof, when a few lines might serve instead of an hundred? How else shall the spirit that is in men, that lusteth unto envy, malice, strife, and contention, be cherished and nourished to feed the lawyers, and dependents on courts, with the bread of mens’ children, and the ruin of their families, to maintain their long suits and malicious contentions. For a judge to say, ‘I mind not these things; I will not hear you clear yourselves of what you are falsely accused of: one thing I mind in your charge, the rest are but matter of form, set there to render you such wicked men before the country, as the thing that is to be proved against you is not sufficient to make out.’ Oh, abominable wickedness, and perverting of the righteous end of the law, which is so careful and tender of every

man's peace and innocency. How is the law in the administration thereof adulterated by the lawyers, as the scriptures are mangled by the priests. And that which was made to preserve the righteous, and to punish the wicked, perverted to the punishing of the righteous, and the preserving of the wicked! An eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth; life for life; burning for burning; wound for wound; a stripe for a stripe; he that accuseth a man falsely to suffer the same as he should have suffered, who was falsely accused, if he had been guilty; this saith the righteous law of God, which is agreeable to that of God in every man's conscience. Are not such forms of iniquity to be denied, which are so contrary to the law of God and man? which serve for the gendering of strife, and the kindling of contention? and of this nature was not that with which thou didst cause us to be indicted? and this form didst thou not uphold, in not permitting us to answer to the many foul slanders therein; saying, 'Those things thou mindedst not.' Will not the wrath of God be revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; who are so far from the power of godliness, that they have not the form, but the form of iniquity, which is set up and held up, instead of, and as a law, to overthrow and destroy the righteousness of the righteous, and so to shut him up, as by the law he can never get out? Is not the cry, thinkest thou, gone up? It is time for thee to set to thine hand, O Lord, for thine enemies have made void thy law! Draws not the hour nigh? Fills not up the measure of iniquity apace? Surely the day is coming, and hasteneth. Warned ye have been from the presence, and by the mouth of the Lord; and clear will he be when he cometh to judgment, and upright when he giveth sentence. That of God in every one of your consciences shall so to him bear witness and confess, and your mouths shall be stopped, and before your judge shall ye be silent, when he shall divide you your portion, and render unto you according to your deeds. Therefore, whilst thou hast time, prize it, and repent: for verily "Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence; a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him. He shall call to the heavens from above, and to the earth, that he may judge his people; and the heavens shall declare his righteousness: for God is judge himself. Consider this, ye that forget God, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver."

'And friend, shouldest thou have given judgment against

us (wherein thou didst fine us twenty marks a piece, and imprisonment till payment) without causing us, being prisoners, to be brought before thee, to hear the judgment, and to move what we had to say in arrest of judgment? Is not this contrary to the law, as is manifest to those who understand the proceedings thereof? Is not the prisoner to be called before judgment be given? and is not the indictment to be read; and the verdict thereupon? And is not liberty to be given him to move in arrest of judgment? And if it be a just exception in the law, ought not there to be an arrest of judgment? For the indictment may not be drawn up according to law, and may be wrong placed, and the offence charged therein may not be a crime in law; or the jury may have been corrupted, or menaced, or set on by some of the justices; with other particulars, which are known to be legal and just exceptions. And the judgment ought to be in the prisoner's hearing, not behind his back, as if the judge were so conscious of the error thereof, that he dares not give it to the face of the prisoner. But these privileges of the law, this justice, we (who had so long and so greatly suffered contrary to law) received not, nor could have at thy hands; no, not so much as a copy or sight of that long and new-found indictment (which in England was never heard of before, nor that the matter contained therein was an offence in law, nor ever was there any law, or judicial precedent, that made it so); though two friends of ours in our names and behalves that night, and the next day, and the day following, often desired it of the clerk of the assize, and his assistant, and servants; but it they could not have, nor so much liberty as to see it. And it is like it was not unknown, or unperceived by thee, that, had we been called, as we ought to have been, or had known when it was to be given, three or four words might have been a sufficient, legal arrest, of the judgment given on that new-found indictment, and the verdict thereupon. Therefore, as our liberties, who are innocent, have not (in thy accompt) been worth the minding, and esteemed fit for nothing but to be trampled under foot and destroyed, so, if we find fault with what thou hast done, thou hast taken care that no door be left open to us in the law, but a writ of error; the consideration whereof, and the judgment to be given thereon, is to be had only where thyself is chief; of whom such complaint is to be made, and the error assigned for the reverse of thy judgment. And what the fruit of that may be well expected to be, by what we have already mentioned, as having received at thy hands, thou hast given us to understand.

And here thou mayest think thou hast made thyself secure, and sufficiently barred up our way of relief, against whom (though thou knewest we had done nothing contrary to the law, or worthy of bonds, much less of the bonds and sufferings we had sustained :) thou hast proceeded as hath been rehearsed ; notwithstanding that thou art (as are all the judges of the nation) entrusted, not with a legislative power, but to administer justice, and to do even law and execution of right to all, high and low, rich and poor, without having regard to any man's person ; and art sworn so to do, as hath been said : and wherein thou dost contrary art liable to punishment, as ceasing from being a judge, and becoming a wrong-doer and an oppressor ; which what it is to be, many of thy predecessors have understood, some by death, others by fine and imprisonment. And of this thou mayest not be ignorant, that to deny a prisoner any of the privileges the law allows him, is to deny him justice, to try him in an arbitrary way, to rob him of that liberty which the law gives him, which is his inheritance as a free man ; and which to do, is in effect to subvert the fundamental laws and government of England, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law ; which is treason by the common law ; and treasons by the common law are not taken away by the statutes of 25 Edw. III. 1 Hen. IV. 1, 2 m. See O. St. Johns, now chief justice of the common pleas, his argument against Strafford, fol. 65, in the case.

‘ These things, friend, we have laid before thee in all plainness, to the end that (with the light of Jesus Christ, who lighteth every one that cometh into the world, a measure of which thou hast, which sheweth thee evil, and reproveth thee for sin, for which thou must be accountable) thou, being still and cool, mayest consider and see what thou hast done against the innocent ; and shame may overtake thee, and thou mayest turn unto the Lord, who now calleth thee to repentance by his servants, whom, for witnessing his living truth in them, thou hast cast into, and yet continuest under, cruel bonds and sufferings.’

Edw. Pyot.

From the Gaol in Launceston, the 14th
day of the 5th month, 1656.

By the foregoing letter the reader may observe how contrary to law we were made to suffer : but the Lord, who saw the integrity of our hearts to him, and knew the innocence of our cause, was with us in our sufferings, and bore

up our spirits through, and made them easy to us, and gave us opportunities of publishing his name and truth amongst the people: so that several of the town came to be convinced, and many were made loving to us; and friends from many parts came to visit us. There came two out of Wales, who had been justices of the peace there. Also judge Hagget's wife of Bristol came to visit us; she was convinced, and several of her children; and her husband was very kind and serviceable to friends, and had a love to God's people, which he retained to his death.

Now in Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, truth began mightily to spread, and many were turned to Christ Jesus and his free teaching: for many friends that came to visit us, were drawn forth to declare the truth in those countries, which made the priests and professors rage, and they stirred up the magistrates to ensnare friends. Then they set up watches in the streets and in the highways, on pretence of taking up all suspicious persons; under which colour they stopped and took up those friends, that travelled in and through those countries, coming to visit us in prison; which they did, that the friends might not pass up and down in the Lord's service. But that which they thought to have stopped the truth by, was the means of spreading it so much the more; for then friends were frequently moved to speak to one constable, and to the other officer, and to the justices they were brought before; and this caused the truth to spread the more amongst them in all their parishes. And when friends were got among the watches, it would be a fortnight or three weeks before they could get out of them again, for no sooner had one constable taken them and carried them before the justices, and they had discharged them, but another would take them up, and carry them before other justices, which put the country to a great deal of needless trouble and charges.

As Thomas Rawlinson was coming up out of the north to visit us, a constable in Devonshire took him up, and at night took twenty shillings out of his pocket; and after they had thus robbed him, he was cast into Exeter jail. They cast Henry Pollexfen also into prison in Devonshire for being a jesuit, who had been a justice of peace for the most part of forty years before. Many friends were cruelly beaten many times by them; nay, some clothiers that were but going to the mill with their cloth, and other men about their outward occasions, they took up and whipped, though men of about eighty or an hundred pounds by the year, and not above four or five miles from their families.

The mayor of Launceston too was a very wicked man, for he would take up all he could get and cast them into prison; and he would search substantial grave women, their petticoats and their head clothes. There came a friend, a young man, to see us, who came not through the town; so I drew up all the gross, inhuman, and unchristian actions of the mayor (for his carriage was more like an heathen than a Christian) and I gave it the young man, and bid him seal it up, and go out again the backway, and then come into the town through the gates. He did so, and the watch took him up and carried him before the mayor, who presently searched his pockets and found the letter, wherein he saw all his actions characterized; which shamed him so that from that time forward he meddled little with the servants of the Lord.

Now from the sense I had of the snare that was laid, and mischief intended against the servants of the Lord, in setting up those watches at that time to stop and take up friends; it came upon me to give forth the following lines, as—

An Exhortation and warning to the Magistrates.

‘ All ye powers of the earth, Christ is come to reign and is among you, and ye know him not, who doth enlighten every one of you that are come into the world, that ye all through him might believe; who is the light, who treads the wine-press alone without the city, whose feet are upon it. Therefore see all and examine with the light, what ye are ripe for, for the press is ready for you.

‘ Before honour is humility; and all you that would have honour before ye have humility (mark, before ye have humility) are ye not as the heathen are? Ye would have honour before ye have humility; did not all the persecutors that ever were upon the earth want this humility? And so they wanted the honour, and yet would have the honour before they had the humility, and had learned that. And so ye that be out of the humility, be out of the honour, and ye are not to have the honour who have not the humility; for before honour is humility, mark, before it.

‘ Now ye pretend liberty of conscience, yet shall not one carry a letter to a friend, nor men visit their friends, nor visit prisoners, nor carry a book about them, either for their own use, or for their friends, and yet ye pretend liberty of conscience. Men shall not see their friends, but

watches are set up against them to catch and stop them ; and these must be well-armed men too, against an innocent people that have not so much as a stick in their hands, who are in scorn called Quakers : and yet among such as set up these watches is pretended liberty of conscience, who take up them, whose consciences are exercised towards God and men, who worship God in their way, which is the truth, which they that be out of the light call heresy. Now these who set up the watches against them, whom they in scorn call Quakers, it is, because they confess and witness the true light, that lighteth every one that cometh into the world, amongst people, as they pass through the country or among their friends. This is the dangerous doctrine which the watchmen are set up against, to subdue error as they call it, which is the light that doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, Him, by whom the world was made ; who was glorified with the Father before the world began. For them, whom they in scorn call Quakers, have they set up their watches, able men well-armed, to take up these that bear this testimony either in words, books, or letters. So that is the light you hate, that doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, and these that witness to this light are they that you put in prison, and after you have imprisoned them, you set up your watches to take up all that go to visit them, and to imprison them also ; so that by setting up your watches, ye would stop all relief from coming to prisoners. Therefore this is the word of the Lord God to you, and a charge to you all, in the presence of the living God of heaven and earth : every man of you being enlightened with a light that cometh from Christ, the Saviour of people's souls, from whom the light cometh that enlightens you, to the light all take heed, that with it you may all see Christ, from whom the light cometh, you may all see him to be your Saviour, by whom the world was made, who saith, "Learn of me." But if ye hate this light, which Christ hath enlightened you withal, ye hate Christ, who doth enlighten you all, that you all through him (who is the light) might believe. But not believing in the light, nor bringing your deeds to the light, which will make them manifest and reprove them, this is your condemnation, even the light. Remember, you are warned in your life-time, for this is your way to salvation, the light, if you walk in it ; and this is your condemnation, the light, if you reject and hate it ; and you can never come to Christ, the second priest, unless you come to the light, which the second priest hath enlightened you withal. So ye that come not

to the light, ye go to the priests that take tithes, as did the first priesthood, and so hale out of your synagogues and temples (as some call them) as that priesthood did that took tithes: which they that were of the second priesthood did not. Was there ever such a generation, or ever did such a generation of men appear, as doth now in this age, who are so full of madness, envy, and persecution, that they stand up in watches with bills and weapons against the truth to persecute it, as the towns and countries do declare; which rings as Sodom, and like Gomorrah! and this hath its liberty, and truth is stood against; and to reprove sin is accounted a breach of the peace, as they say, who be out of the truth and set up their watches against it.' G. F.

Besides this general warning, there coming to my hand a copy of a warrant issued out from the sessions of Exeter, in express terms, for the apprehending of all Quakers, wherein truth and friends were reproached and vilified, I was moved to write an answer thereunto, and send it abroad, for the clearing of truth and friends from the slanders therein cast upon them, and to manifest the wickedness of that persecuting spirit from whence it proceeded. And that which I writ, was after this manner:

'Whereas there was a warrant granted forth, the last sessions holden at Exeter, on the eighteenth day of the fifth month, 1656, which warrant is for the apprehending and taking up all such as are Quakers, or call themselves Quakers, or go under the notion of Quakers; and is directed to the chief-constables, to be sent by them to the petty-constables, requiring them to set watches, able men with bills, to take up all such Quakers as aforesaid. And whereas in your said warrant you speak of the Quakers spreading seditious books and papers: I answer, they, whom ye in scorn call Quakers, have no seditious books or papers; but their books are against sedition, and seditious men, and seditious books, and seditious teachers, and seditious ways. And so ye have numbered them, who are honest men, godly men, holy men, men that fear God, amongst beggars, rogues and vagabonds; thus putting no difference between the precious and the vile, you are not fit to judge, who have set up your bills, and armed your men to stand up together in battle against the innocent people, the lambs of Christ, which have not lifted up an hand against you. But if ye were sensible of the state of your own country, your cities, your towns, your villages, how the cry of them is like Gomorrah, and the ring like

Sodom, and the sound like the old world, where all flesh had corrupted its way, which God overthrew with the flood. If you did this consider with yourselves, you would find something to turn the sword against, and not against the lambs of Christ, and not make a mock upon the innocent, that stand a witness against all sin and unrighteousness in your towns and steeple-houses. Noah, the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, was grieved with the filthy conversation of the wicked; so are we now. So likewise just Lot was grieved with their unmerciful deeds, and the filthy conversation of Sodom. And were not these hated of the world, and of them that lived in filthiness? And whereas you speak of those, whom you in scorn call Quakers, that they are a grief to those, whom you call pious and religious people, and their religion. Such as be in the religion that is vain, whose tongues are not bridled, I believe, the Quakers are a grief to; but are not a grief to such as be in the pure religion, which keepeth unspotted of the world, which sets not up bills, nor watches, to maintain it by the world, for they are not of the world which be in the pure religion, which keeps them unspotted of the world: mark, the pure religion, which keeps unspotted of the world: but such as be in the religion that is not pure, which have a form of godliness, and not the power, such as you call pious, the truth itself to such was always a grief, and so it is in this age. And now your fruits do appear, the end of your religion and profession, and what you do possess: but you are in the error, and have been but in the profession, out of the possession of the Spirit, who are not in the spirit of truth. For where did ever it set stints and bounds, and number the just and innocent with the wicked? But the wicked set stints, and bounds, and limits to the just, and number them among the wicked; yea, speak all manner of evil they did of them, as ye are doing now of us; they did so, who did profess that, which ye do profess in words. Nay, according as it was foretold in the scripture, such as tremble at the word of God you cast out and hate, you that have your temple-worship, and you say, the Quakers come to disturb you in your churches (as you call them); was it not the practice of the apostles to go into the synagogues and temples, to witness against the priesthood that took tithes, and was it not the practice of the Jews to hale them out, and persecute them, and stone them, that witnessed Christ the second priest, and went to bring people off from the first priesthood? Was it not the practice of the prophets, to go and cry against the high places? And was it not the

practice of the Jews, when they were back-slidden, and of the heathen, to imprison and persecute the prophets, and send after them into other countries? And is this not the practice of you now, who are holding up your high places, which the papists set up, which ye now call your churches, where ye beat and persecute? What religious people are you that are filled with so much madness? Did not Paul confess he was mad, while he was in your practice, haleing, beating, prisoning, putting out of the synagogues, having his authority from the chief priests? And are not the chief priests the cause of this? Was there ever such a cry made in any age past, as there is now in the pulpits, railing against an innocent people, whom ye in scorn call Quakers, who lift not up an hand against you; and who are indeed the pious, that are of the pure religion, who fear God, and worship him in the spirit and in the truth, but cannot join with you in your religion? And do not the ministers of God say, that the scriptures are a declaration, which you call the word? Do not you rob Christ of his title, and of his honour, and give it to the letter, and shew yourselves out of the doctrine of the ministers of God, who call the scriptures by the name of writings and treatises, and declarations, and said, Christ's name is called the word of God? Are not you here in the error you speak of, which is your common talk among you? There was talk among some of you of your gospel-shining: doth your gospel which you profess persecute? Did ever any of them, that did possess it, cast into prison and not suffer others to go to visit them? Are you like Christians in this or like heathens, who set bounds and watches over the land, that they should not pass to visit them that be in prison? Was ever the like heard in any age? Search and see, if you have not outstripped them in all your watches, if not in your manner of persecution and in your imprisonments: and oh! never talk, that we are a grief to them that are in the pure religion. And whereas in your warrant we are represented as disaffected to government; I say, the law, which is a terror to the evil-doer, we own, the higher power to which the soul must be subject; but we deny the evil-doer, the malicious man reigning, and the envious man seeking for his prey, whose envy is against the innocent; who raiseth up the country against honest men, and so becomes a trouble to the country, in raising them up to take the innocent; but that we leave to the Lord to judge. Your false accusations of heresy and blasphemy we do deny; you should have laid them down in particulars, what they had been, that people might have

seen them, and not have slandered behind our backs: the law saith, the crime should be mentioned in the warrant. Then for your saying, we deny the godly ministers to be a true ministry of Christ, that is false; for we say, that the godly ministers are the ministers of Christ. But which of your ministers dare say, that they are truly godly? And for your charging us with seducing many weak people, that is false also, for we seduce none; but you, that deny the light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, are seduced from the anointing which should teach you; and if ye would be taught by it, ye would not need that any man should teach you. But such as are taught by the anointing, which abideth in them, and deny man's teaching, these ye call seducers, quite contrary to John's doctrine, 1 John 2. You speak quite contrary to him; that which is truth, ye call seducing, and that which he calls seducing, you call truth; read the latter part of the chapter: and beware, I warn you all from the Lord God of glory, set not any bound against him, stint him not, limit not the Holy One of Israel; for the Lord is rising in power and great glory, who will rule the nations with a rod of iron, which to him are but as the drop of a bucket; he that measures the waters in the hollow of his hand, will dash nations together as a potter's vessel. And know, you that are found in this his day blaspheming his work, that God hath brought forth, calling it blasphemy, fighting against it, setting up your carnal weapons, making your bonds strong; God will break asunder that which your carnal policy hath invented, and which by your carnal weapons ye would uphold, and make you to know there is a God in heaven, who carries his lambs in his arms which are come among wolves, and are ready to be torn in pieces in every place, yea, in your steeple-houses, where are people without reason, and that have not natural affection. Therefore all ye petty-constables, sheriffs and justices, take warning, and take heed, what ye do against the lambs of Christ; for Christ is come, and coming, who will give to every one of you a reward according to your works, you which have the letter, which speaks of Christ; but now ye are persecuting that which the scripture speaks of, so your fruits make you manifest. Therefore every one, sheriff, justices, constables, &c. see what ye do possess; consider what ye do possess, and what a profession ye are now in, that all these carnal weapons are now set up against the innocent, yea, against the truth; which shews that ye have not the spiritual weapons, that they are not among you; and that ye want the counsel of Gamaliel,

yea, ye want the counsel of such a man among you, who said, 'Let the apostles alone; if it be of God, it will stand; if it be not, it will come to nought.' But ye may see yourselves on the contrary, in the spirit of them that came with Judas, with swords and staves from the chief-priests against Christ, still it is against Christ, where he is made manifest. Paul (while Saul) went against him, though he professed a Christ that was to come; and the Jews professed a Christ that was to come; yet Paul persecuted him, where he was manifested in his saints. So ye profess a Christ that is come, but persecute him where he is manifest. You that have the letter, the high-places, the synagogues, you persecute him, where he is made manifest in his saints, as the Jews did. They who were in the letter, out of the life, persecuted them that were in the life of that which they profess in the letter: so now do you persecute them that are in the life, and are yourselves strangers to it, as your fruits make appear. You have numbered the people of God amongst transgressors; but have you prisoned any of the rogues and transgressors you speak of? You have prisoned the innocent, and let others go free.'

G. F.

When I had sent abroad the foregoing papers concerning the watches, that were then set up to intercept and stop friends in their travels in the work of the Lord; so great a sense came upon me of the darkness and veil that was over the priests and professors of Christianity, that I was moved to give forth the following paper, as an awakening warning to them.

'Blindness hath happened to the professed Christians of the letter now a days, as blindness happened to the Jews, who professed the letter, but owned not the life which the letter speaks of; as the Christians now, to whom this blindness hath happened, who profess the scripture, but own not the life, which the scripture speaks of. For against the life the Jews stood, who professed the letter of the scripture, but they were blind, they gathered counsel against the life; they were in an uproar when the babe was born in Bethlehem, Herod and all the chief priests. And Herod sought to destroy all the young children in Bethlehem, yet missed the babe; Herod, that fox, though he slew John, and put him to death. And you may here see how the literal professors did stand up, not for the truth, but quite against it: furthermore, the chief priests

consulted together how they might take Jesus by subtilty, and put him to death ; mark, by their subtilty. The professors of a Christ that was to come, they preached of a Messiah, of a Christ, of a Saviour, but denied the life when he was made manifest. The chief priests and the council gathered together, they professed his words ; and the chief priests, who were gathered together with the council, said that his disciples had stolen him away by night, and gave large monies to the soldiers to declare this. Likewise in the day, when the children of Israel were in Egypt, and they with their children began to spread and multiply, Come, said the Egyptians, let us deal wisely with them to afflict them, and tax them ; which held, until the Lord overthrew their oppressors, and brought out his seed by his mighty power from under the oppressor, and exalted his son above all, though the heathen raged, and the people imagined vain things ; and he made his power known, that all might see that there was no God upon the earth but himself. This power now hath brought forth the work of the Lord ! Many who be turned to the light, Christ, have received the power of God, and are thereby become the sons of God. Now this birth, that is born of God, are all the powers of the world joined together to crucify, to put to death those Jews in the spirit, as they did put Christ to death in the flesh formerly. This is the birth that all the wicked world is enraged against and mad at ; against this they set their watches, this birth, brought forth by the Mighty God of Jacob, who rides upon the high places of the earth. This is the birth that the professed Christians without the life in our days and age rage against, and lay out all their wisdom about. Are not the chief priests and wise men of the earth consulting together how they might destroy this birth ? Is not this the birth, that is banished out of your hearts, you that profess the scripture, and are talkers of it, but do not own the light and life which the scripture speaks of, as the Jews would not ; and so will not have Christ to reign over you, as they would not ? Do you not hale out of your synagogues and before magistrates ? Do you not herein fulfil Christ's words, who said to his disciples, They should be haled out of the synagogues, and before rulers ? Do you not persecute them from city to city ? Do you not almost fill your prisons with them ? And now set your watches that none should go to visit them, whom ye have put into prison ? Is not this an unchristian spirit ? How can you for shame say you are upholders of truth ? Or how can you for shame say that truth hath been professed among you ? Yet we

say, we grant that you have talked of it. And how can you for shame say the gospel shines among you, when you will not own it, the life of it, when you call it error, and the evil seed? Yea, the very truth, yea, the very life of truth ye have blasphemed against now, as the Jews did against Christ, calling him a devil; you now call it error, and the evil seed, and stand up against it, and turn the sword against it. As it was in the days of the Jews, who turned the sword against Christ, so it is in these days of the professed Christians of the scripture, but out of the life that gave it forth; as it was with the Jews outward in the flesh, who were not the Jews in the Spirit. And is it not a shame to all the ministers of the gospel, (as they are called) that they can find no better way to maintain that which they call the truth and their gospel, than by carnal weapons, stocks and prisons, and whips, watches and wards, and powers of the earth? Were these the apostles' weapons? Carnal watches and wards, stocks and prisons, and haleing out of the synagogues, when they came to speak? Judge yourselves what an antichristian spirit you have. Never talk of defending truth with that which is against truth. For are you not setting up the rabble of the world against it? Do they not join with you with swords and staves against it? And is this the life of Christians? Is not this the life of error, and of the evil seedsman? Surely, ye would find work enough, if ye were in the fear of the Lord, to turn your swords against profaneness, the oaths and wickedness that is in your streets and highways; how do they ring like Sodom, and give a sound like Gomorrah! But they are become a prey in this your age, that reprove in your gate sin, wickedness and profaneness, they are become your by-word. Against them your councils are gathered, and them you cast into prison, and hale them out of your synagogues, and cast them likewise into prison, that write against it, and speak against it, and set your guards to stop and hinder any from visiting them whom you cast into prison, and give them the names of vagabonds and wanderers. Was ever the like heard in the days of the heathen against the apostles who witnessed the gospel? Did they set guards and watches in every town, in every city, to take the disciples, the brethren, the believers, that heard that the apostles were cast into prison, and came to see what they wanted? Shew ye not as much rage and fury now in your age, as was in those that were in that age? And how can you talk of the gospel, and of defending the gospel, when you are setting guards and watches against it, and are defending that which stands

against it; and the lambs of Christ are almost torn to pieces amongst you, who are like wolves; for the Lord hath now sent his lambs amongst wolves. And have not you professed the words of Christ, and of the prophets and apostles, as the Jews had long professed the scriptures, the words of Moses, and of the prophets, that prophesied of Christ that was to come, and stood against him when he was come? as you do in this day of his reign, and in this day of his glorious gospel, who are persecuting the messengers of it, imprisoning them, persecuting them in your streets and highways, and now setting up your watches against them, who bring you the glad tidings of peace to your souls, whose feet are beautiful a top of the mountains; mark, a top of the mountains, that against which the mountains rage and swell; but God will make them to melt, the sun is risen, which will make them to melt: and God will cleave the rocks and mountains asunder, and make the hills to bow perpetually; for his Son he will exalt, and his glory he will give to him and not to another. Therefore be awakened, ye rulers of the earth, and take counsel of the Lord, and take not counsel together against him. Make not your bonds strong, and set not yourselves in battle against him, for ye will be found but as briars and thorns before him, which the fire shall consume. Therefore be awakened, all ye that be talkers of the scripture, and that gather yourselves together by your multitudes and meetings, and have had your teachers; but not having the Spirit that gave forth the scriptures, the Lord God of glory, the Father of spirits, will scatter you; all your bonds will not hold you together, who are out of the Spirit, which is the bond of peace. The threshing instrument is gone forth, which will beat the hills to pieces; Sion is risen to thresh; out of the holy mountain is the trumpet sounded. Stand not up against the Lord; for all nations are with the Lord as the drop of a bucket. He that measures the waters in the hollow of his hand, and weighs the earth in scales, the Lord of hosts is his name, who is now risen and rising to plead the cause of the innocent; who is exalting his Son and bringing his sheep to him. Now are they seen and known that feed upon wind, that are lifted up, given up to believe lies, who report, and say, 'Report, and we will report it.' Now are they seen who have a form of godliness, but the power is denied by them; so Christ is denied, the power itself is denied, for Christ is the power of God. And the power being denied by you, that have a form of godliness, that have the words of the scriptures, the gospel is denied, for

the gospel is the power of God. And thus it is among you, that have the knowledge and wisdom that is sensual, earthly and devilish; doth it not appear so? Let your jails and watches witness your fruits in every town. Your wisdom is earthly, sensual and devilish; so you have a knowledge and wisdom, but not that which is from above, for that is pure and gentle, and so is not your knowledge; but to know Christ is life eternal. Now your fruits have manifested that you are not of this, and so out of the power of God, which is the cross of Christ; for you are found in the world out of the power of God, out of the cross of Christ, persecuting. So that which doth persecute, and send forth writings and decrees to stop all, and take up all, and set watches, and prepare bonds to stint the Lord, to imprison and persecute, and suffer none to go to visit them; this shews you are not Christians, but stand against a Christian's life, which is to love your enemies. Where is your heaping up coals of fire; your love to your enemies, who are thus persecuting your friends? He came to his own, and his own received him not; here is turning the sword against the just. Do you shew here a Christian's life, or yourselves Christians, who are filling your jails with the Christians in the Spirit, you that be in the letter (in shadows) as the Jews in the letter did put the Jews in the Spirit into prison? Is not this the fruit in our days of the Christians in the letter, to put the Christians in the Spirit into prison? And doth not this shew that your decrees, which you have sent forth, proceed from death, who thus act against the life, and them that be in it, which the scriptures were given forth from? Is it not here as it was with Saul, when he went to persecute, to hale to prison, and bind all that he could find calling upon that name, who were Christians in the life, the spirit, such as now you are persecuting because they are in the life, though you profess their words? Are not your decrees gone forth from the same spirit of envy, against the same spirit of Christ they were in? Is it not manifest to all that fear God, and to the sober-minded and honest-hearted people that see your practices, your decrees, your letters to stop, to molest, to hinder, to imprison them that are moved of the Lord to do his will, or to go to visit prisoners whom you have imprisoned? Doth this shew you to have a spirit like Paul, yea or nay? or are you not, quite contrary, like to them that persecuted Paul? The day hath declared it. To that of God in you all I speak, which shall witness it at the last day, in the day of judgment. Persecution was blind in all ages, and madness and folly

led it; yet persecution got always a form or pretence of godliness, or to talk of religion, as in the days of Moses, in the days of Jeremy, in the days of Christ, and of the apostles. 'Come,' saith the council, 'let us crush them while they are young, they have almost over-spread the nation in every corner.' This is as much as to say, let us put this birth to death, as Pharaoh and Herod did the children; but the Lord caused his truth the more to spread. For you may read, what numbers came out of Egypt! and what multitudes followed Christ! Therefore, with consideration read these lines and not with fury, and let not foolishness appear; but consider in humility your ways you act in, and your paths you go in, and what spirit you are of, and what the end of your conversation is, now see; for in love to your souls I write, that in the day of your visitation you may consider it.

'From him who loveth righteousness and the establishing of it, and truth, and peace, and faith, which is by Christ Jesus (mercy and peace be multiplied among such) but a witness against all hypocrites, and all who have a profession, but live out of the possession, who are in an hypocritical religion, in the lusts and fashions of the world, having a form of godliness, but standing against the power with might and main, sword and staff. Which things declare your conversation and practices to be out of Christ's life, against the gospel practice, and contrary to the manner and order of the saints.'

G. F.

We were continued in prison till the next assize, before which time divers friends, both men and women, were sent to prison, that had been taken up by the watches. When the assize was come, several of these were called before the judge and indicted; and though the jailer brought them into court, yet they indicted them, that they came in by force of arms and in an hostile manner; and the judge fined them because they would not put off their hats. But we were not called before the judges any more, but they let us alone.

Great work we had and service for the Lord, both between the assizes and after, amongst the professors and people of all sorts, for many came to see us and to reason with us. And Elizabeth Trelawny of Plymouth (who was the daughter of one called a baronet) being convinced, (as was formerly mentioned) the priests and professors, and some great persons of her kindred were in a great rage concerning her, and writ letters to her; and she being a

wise and tender woman, and fearing to give them any advantage, sent their letters to me; and I answered them, and returned them to her again, for her to send the answers to them. Which she did: till growing in the power and spirit, and wisdom of God, she came herself to be able to answer the wisest priest and professor of them all, and had a dominion over them all in the truth, through the power of the Lord, by which she was kept faithful to her death.

Now, while I was in prison here, the baptists and fifth-monarchy men prophesied, 'That this year Christ should come, and reign upon earth a thousand years.' And they looked upon this reign to be outward; when as he was come inwardly in the hearts of his people to reign and rule there, and these professors would not receive him there; so they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and had not the possession of him. But Christ is come, and doth dwell in the hearts of his people, and reigns there; and thousands, at the door of whose hearts he hath been knocking, have opened to him, and he is come in, and doth sup with them, and they with him, the heavenly supper with the heavenly and spiritual man. So many of these baptists and monarchy people turned the greatest enemies to the professors of Christ: but he reigns in the hearts of his saints over all their envy.

At the assize divers justices came to us and were pretty civil, and reasoned of the things of God pretty soberly, expressing a pity to us. There came also captain Fox, who was governor of Pendennis Castle, and looked me in the face, and said never a word, but went his ways to his company, and told them, he never saw a simpler man in his life. I called after him, and said 'Stay man, we will see who is the simpler man.' But he went his way, a light chaffy man.

There came also at the assize, one Thomas Lower to visit us, and he offered to give us money, which we refused; accepting nevertheless of his love. He asked us many questions concerning our denying the scriptures to be the word of God, and concerning the sacraments, and such like; to all which he received satisfaction. And I spake unto him, and he afterwards said my words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through him; and he said he never met with such wise men in his life, for they knew the thoughts of his heart, and were as the wise master builders of the assemblies, that fastened their words like nails. He came to be convinced of the truth, and remains a friend to this day. When he came home to his aunt

Hambley's (where he then lived) and made report to her concerning us, she, with her sister Grace Billing, hearing the sound of truth, came afterwards to visit us in prison, and was convinced also. And great sufferings and spoilings of goods both he and his aunt have undergone for the truth's sake.

About this time I was moved to give forth the following paper to friends in the ministry.

‘ Friends,

‘ In the power of life and wisdom, and dread of the Lord God of life, and heaven, and earth, dwell; that in the wisdom of God over all ye may be preserved, and be a terror to all the adversaries of God, and a dread, answering that of God in them all, spreading the truth abroad, awakening the witness, confounding the deceit, gathering up out of transgression into the life, the covenant of light and peace with God. Let all nations hear the sound by word or writing: spare no place, spare no tongue, nor pen; but be obedient to the Lord God; go through the work, and be valiant for the truth upon earth; tread and trample all that is contrary under. Ye have the power, do not abuse it; and strength and presence of the Lord, eye it, and the wisdom; that with it you may all be ordered to the glory of the Lord God. Keep in the dominion, keep in the power over all deceit; tread over them in that which lets you see to the world's end, and the utmost parts of the earth. Reign and rule with Christ, whose sceptre and throne is now set up, whose dominion is over all to the ends of the earth; whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, throne an everlasting throne, kingdom an everlasting kingdom, power above all powers. Therefore this is the word of the Lord God to you all: keep in the wisdom of God, that spreads over all the earth; the wisdom of the creation, that is pure, from above, not destructive. For now shall salvation go out of Zion, to judge the mount of Esau: and now shall the law go forth from Jerusalem, to answer the principle of God in all; to hew down all inventors and inventions. For all the princes of the earth are but as air to the power of the Lord God, which you are in, and have tasted of: therefore live in it, that is the word of the Lord God to you all; and do not abuse it: and keep down and low; and take heed of false joys, that will change.

‘ Bring all into the worship of God: plow up the fallow ground, thresh and get out the corn; that the seed, the wheat, may be gathered into the barn: that to the begin-

ning all people may come to Christ, that was, before the world was made. For the chaff is come upon the wheat by transgression: he that treadeth it out is out of transgression, and fathoms transgression; and puts a difference between the precious and the vile; and can pick out the wheat from the tares, and gather into the garner: so brings to the lively hope the immortal soul into God, out of which it came. And none worships God but who comes to the principle of God, which they have transgressed; and none are plowed up but who comes to the principle of God in him, that he hath transgressed: then he doth service to God, then is the planting and the watering; and the increase from God cometh. So the ministers of the spirit must minister to the spirit, that is in prison, which hath been in captivity in every one; that with the Spirit of Christ people may be led out of captivity up to God, the Father of spirits, and do service to him, and to have unity with him, with the scriptures, and one with another. And this is the word of the Lord God to you all, and a charge to you all in the presence of the living God; be patterns, be examples in all countries, places, islands, nations, wherever you come; that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them: then you will come to walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every one; whereby in them ye may be a blessing, and make the witness of God in them to bless you: then to the Lord God you will be a sweet savour, and a blessing.

‘Spare no deceit, lay the sword upon it; go over it: keep yourselves clear of the bloods of all men, either by word, or writing, or speaking; and keep yourselves clean, that you may stand in your throne, and every one have his lot, and stand in the lot in the Ancient of Days. And so the blessing of the Lord be with you, and keep you over all the idolatrous worships and worshippers: let them know the living God; for teachings, churches, worships must be thrown down with the power of the Lord God, set up by man’s earthy understanding, knowledge and will. For this all must be thrown down with that which gave forth scripture; and who be in that, reigns over it all: that is the word of the Lord God to you all. In that is God worshipped, that brings to declare his will; and brings to the church in God, the ground and pillar of truth: for now is the mighty day of the Lord appeared, and the arrows of the Almighty gone forth, which shall stick in the hearts of the wicked. Now will I arise, saith the Lord God Almighty, to trample and thunder down deceit, which hath

long reigned, and stained the earth: now will I have my glory out of every one. The Lord God Almighty over all in his strength and power you keep, to his glory, that you may come to answer that of God in every one in the world. Proclaim the mighty day of the Lord of fire and sword, who will be worshipped in spirit and in truth; and keep in the life and power of the Lord God, that the inhabitants of the earth may tremble before you: that the Lord God's power and majesty may be admired among the hypocrites and heathens, and ye in the wisdom, dread, life, terror and dominion preserved to his glory: that nothing may rule or reign, but power and life itself; and in the wisdom of God ye may be preserved in it. And this is the word of the Lord God to you all, and the call is now out of transgression; the spirit bids come: and the call is now from all false worships and gods, and from all inventions and dead works to serve the living God: and the call to repentance, to the amendment of life, whereby righteousness may be brought forth; which shall go throughout the earth. Therefore ye that be chosen and faithful, which are with the Lamb, go through your work faithfully, and in the strength and power of the Lord; and be obedient to the power; for that will save you out of the hands of unreasonable men, and preserve you over the world to himself: hereby you may live in the kingdom, that stands in power, which hath no end; where glory and life is.'

G. F.

For Tho. Mounts.

After the assize, the sheriff with some soldiers came to guard a woman to execution, that was sentenced to die; and we had a great deal of discourse with them. One of them wickedly said, that Christ was as passionate a man as any that lived upon the earth: for which wicked saying we rebuked him. Another time we asked the jailer what doings there were at the sessions; and he said, 'Small matters; only about thirty for bastardy.' We thought it very strange, that they who professed themselves Christians should make small matters of such things: but this jailer was very bad himself, and I often admonished him to sobriety; but he would abuse people that came to visit us. Edward Pyot had a cheese sent him from Bristol from his wife; and the jailer took the cheese from him, and carried it to the mayor, to search it for treasonable letters, as he said: and though they found no treason in the cheese, they kept it from us. This jailer might have been made rich if he had carried himself civilly; but he sought his own ruin;

which soon after came upon him : for the next year he was turned out of his place, and for some wickedness was cast into the jail himself, and there begged of our friends. And for some unruliness in his carriage, he was by the succeeding jailer put into doomsdale, and locked in irons, and beaten ; and bid to remember how he had abused those good men, whom he had wickedly, without any cause, cast into that nasty dungeon : and told, that now he deservedly should suffer for his wickedness ; and the same measure he had meted to others, he should have meted out to himself. He grew to be very poor, and died in prison ; and his wife and family came to misery.

While I was in prison in Launceston, there was a friend went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself, body for body, to lie in doomsdale prison for me, or in my stead, if he would take him, and let me go at liberty. Which thing so struck him, that he said to his great men and council, ‘ Which of you would do so much for me if I were in the same condition ? ’ And though he did not accept of the friend’s proffer, but said he could not do it for that it was contrary to law, yet however the truth thereby came mightily over him. A good while after this he sent down major-general Desborow, pretending to set us at liberty : and when he came, he proffered us, if we would go home, and preach no more, we should have our liberty ; but we could not promise him so. Then he urged, that we should promise to go home, if the Lord permit : whereupon Edward Pyot wrote him this following letter :

To Major-General Desborow.

‘ Friend,

‘ Though much might be said as to the liberty of Englishmen to travel in any part of the nation of England, it being as the Englishman’s house by the law, and he to be protected in any part of it ; and if he transgress the law, the penalty upon the transgressor is to be inflicted. And as to liberty of conscience, which is a natural right, and a fundamental ; and the exercise of it, by those who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, is to be protected ; as by the instrument of government appears ; though they differ in doctrine, worship, and discipline ; provided the liberty extend not to popery, or prelacy, nor to licentiousness. Where these rights are denied us, our liberty is infringed ; which are the price of much blood and treasure in the late wars. Yet in the power of God over all, by which all are

to be ruled, are we, and in it dwell, and by it alone are guided to do the will of God; whose will is free: and we, in the freedom of his will, walk by the power, either as it commands or permits, without any condition or enforcement thereunto by men; but as the power moves either by command or permission. And although we cannot covenant or condition to go forth of these parts, or to do this or that thing, if the Lord permit (for that were to do the will of man by God's permission) yet it is like we may pass forth of these parts in the liberty of the will of God, as we may be severally moved, and guided by the pure power, and not of necessity. We, who were first committed, were passing homewards when we were apprehended; and, as far as I know, we might pass, if the prison doors were commanded to be opened, and we freed of our bonds. Should we stay, if the Lord commands us to go; or should we go, if the Lord commands us to stay; or having no command to stay, but being permitted to pass from hence, the pure power moving thereto, and yet we stay; or go, when as before commanded to stay; we should then be wanderers indeed: for such are wanderers who wander out from the will and power of God, abroad, at large, in their own wills and earthly minds. And so, in the fear of the Lord God, well weigh and consider, with the just weight and just balance, that justice thou mayest do to the just and innocent in prison.'

Edward Pyot.

Some time having passed after the foregoing was delivered him, and he not giving any order for our discharge, I also wrote unto him as followeth:

To Major-General Desborow.

'Friend,

'We who be in the power of God, the ruler of all, the upholder of all things, and know and dwell in his power, to it we must be obedient; which brings us to stand out of all men's wills, not limited. To say, we will, if the Lord permit, in a case of buying and selling to get gain, if the intent be so to do, may be done: but we standing in the power of God to do his will, and to stand out of man's will, if man propound, we shall have our liberty if we will say we will go to our outward being, if the Lord permit, if it be the will of God; and because we cannot say these words in this case, shall not have our liberty; when we

know that the will of God is, we shall go to speak at some other place; here we cannot say these words truly. For to say, we will go to our outward habitation, if it be according to the will of God, when we know the will of God is otherwise, we cannot speak so truly and clearly. Neither can any man say so to him that requires it of him, who stands in the power, and knows the power of God to lead him, according to God's will, and it leads him to another place than that which is called the outward home. But the Son of God, who came to do, and did, the will of God, had no place whereon to lay his head; and the apostles, and many of the followers of Christ, had no certain dwelling place. Now, if these should have been restrained, because they could not say they would go to that which the world calls their outward homes, if it were the will of God, when they knew it was the will of God they should not; and they could not do the will of God in doing so; and therefore could not speak those words to satisfy man's mind and will, would not that have been evil? Abraham could not do the will of God but in going from his native country: and who are of faith are of Abraham, of whom Christ came according to the flesh. Now, if you alledge and say, this is to let all loose, and at liberty to idleness, I say, no; such as be in the power of God, who do the will of God, come to receive his wisdom, by which all his creatures were created; by which to use them to his glory. So this I shall say: who are moved by the Lord God of glory and power, to go to their outward beings or habitations, such of us may go to our outward beings or homes, and there be diligent in serving the Lord God, that they may be a blessing from the Lord God in their generation; diligently serving him in life and doctrine, in manners, in conversation, in all things. And who are moved of the Lord to go to any other place, we standing in his will, and being moved by his power, which comprehends all things, and is not to be limited, we shall do his will, which we are commanded to do. So the Lord God open your understandings, that you may see this great power of the Lord, which he is now manifesting among his children in this his day; that ye may not withstand it in our friends, that are come into the power of God, and to God, and know him by whom the world was made; by whom all things were created that were created; and there was not any thing made, of all that was made, but what was made for him, and to him, and by him; who is the power of God, who doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world. Now, our friends being come to this light, which cometh

from Christ, and having received power from him, by whom all things were created, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, who is the wisdom of God, we have received wisdom and power from him; by which the Lord doth give us to know how to use and order the creatures to the glory of him who is the Creator of all things. So our friends here are taught of the Lord to be diligent, serving him; and who come into the life the scriptures were given forth from, are given up to serve the Lord; and of this I have in all your consciences a witness. So if thou open the prison door, we shall not stay there. If thou send a liberate, and set us free, we shall not stay in prison: for Israel is to go out free, whose freedom is purchased by the power of God, and the blood of Jesus. But who goeth out of the power of God, loseth his freedom.'

George Fox, and the rest who are
Sufferers for the Truth in
Launceston Jail.

The 13th of the 6th month, 1656.

After this major Desborow came to the Castle-green, and there played at bowls with the justices and others. And several friends were moved to go to him, and admonish him and them of their spending their time so vainly; bidding them consider, that though they professed themselves to be Christians, yet they gave themselves up to their pleasures, and kept the servants of God meanwhile in prison; and told them, the Lord would plead with them, and visit them for such things. But notwithstanding what was writ or said unto him, he went away, and left us in prison: yet we understood afterwards, that he left the business to colonel Bennet, who had the command of the jail. For sometime after Bennet would have set us at liberty, if we would have paid his jailer's fees; but we told him we could give the jailer no fees, for we were innocent sufferers: and how could they expect fees of us, who had suffered so long wrongfully. After a while this colonel Bennet coming to town, sent for us to an inn, and insisted again upon fees, which we refused; and at last the power of the Lord came so over him, that he freely set us at liberty. It was on the 13th day of the seventh month, 1656, that we were set at liberty; and we had been prisoners nine weeks at the first assize, called the Lent-assize, which was in the spring of the year.

Observing, while I was here a prisoner, how much the people (they especially who were called the gentry) were

addicted and given to pleasures and vain recreations, I was moved, before I left the place to give forth several papers as a warning unto them, and unto all that so mis-spend their time. One of which was thus directed :

This is to go abroad among them who are given to pleasures and wantonness.

‘ Sodom and Gomorrah their sins were pride, fulness of bread and abundance of idleness ; whose filthy conversation vexed the righteous soul of the just Lot day by day, and would not take warning : on whom God sent fire, and turned them into ashes. And in spiritual Sodom and Egypt was our Lord Jesus Christ crucified ; and it is written, “ The people sate down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play : with whom God was not well pleased ; and there fell three and twenty thousand in one day.” These the apostle commanded the saints that they should not follow ; for these things happened to them for examples, and are written for our admonition. And God spared not the old world ; but reserving Noah, a preacher of righteousness, brought the flood upon the world of the ungodly, making them an example to all that after should live ungodly. Mark, ye ungodly ones, who are as natural brute beasts, who speak great swelling words of vanity, alluring through the lusts of the flesh, through much wantonness, as they that count it pleasure to riot in the day-time, sporting yourselves with your own deceivings ; ye shall receive the reward of unrighteousness. Ye are as dogs and swine turned to the vomit, and wallowing in the mire, speaking evil of things that ye know not ; and unless ye repent, ye shall utterly perish in your own corruptions. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton ; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter : ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you. Go to, weep and howl for the misery that is coming upon you ; and she that liveth in pleasures, is dead while she liveth. God condemned the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, making them an example to all those that after should live ungodly, in the wicked, filthy conversation : mark, here is your example. Hear this, ye that are given to pleasures, and read your examples.’

G. F.

Another paper, upon my taking notice of the bowlers that came to sport themselves in the Castle-green, was as followeth :

‘ The word of the Lord to all you vain and idle-minded people, who are lovers of sports, pleasures, and foolish exercises, and recreations, as you call them ; consider of your ways, what it is you are doing. Was this the end of your creation ? Did God make all things for you, and you to serve your lusts and pleasures ? Did not the Lord make all things for you, and you for himself, to fear and worship him in spirit and in truth, in righteousness and true holiness ? But where is your service of God, so long as your hearts run after lusts and pleasures ? Ye cannot serve God, and the foolish pleasures of the world, as bowling, drinking, hunting, hawking, and the like : if these have your hearts, God will not have your lips : consider, for it is true. Therefore from the Lord must you all witness woe and misery, tribulation and wrath, who continue in the love and practice of your vain sports, lusts and pleasures. Now is the day, when all every-where are exhorted to repentance : O foolish people, wicked and slow of heart to believe the threatenings of the great Jehovah against the wicked ! What will you do in the day of the Lord’s fierce wrath, that makes haste to come upon the world of ungodly men ! And what good have your foolish sports and delights done you now they are past ? Or what good will they do you, when the Lord calls for your souls ? Therefore all now awake from sleep, and see where you are : and let the light of Jesus Christ, that shines in every one of your consciences, search you thoroughly ; and it will let you clearly see, for all your profession of God, Christ and the scriptures, you are ignorant of them, and enemies to them all, and your own souls also : and being found living in pleasures, you are dead while you live. And therefore doth the Lord by many messengers forewarn you, and calls you to repentance and deep humiliation, that you may forsake the evil of your doings, and so own this day of your visitation, and while you have time to prize it ; lest the things which belong to your peace be hid from your eyes, for your disobedience and rebellion against the Holy One : and then had it been good that you never had been born. Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand : again I say, repent ! ’

Given forth in Launceston Jail
in Cornwall.

To the Bowlers in the Green.

Being released, we got horses and rode up into the country towards Humphry Lower's, and met him upon the road coming towards us. He told us he was much troubled in his mind concerning us, and could not rest at home, but was going to colonel Bennet to seek our liberty. But when we told him we were set at liberty, and were going to his house, he was exceeding glad. So to his house we went; and there we had a fine, precious meeting; and many were convinced, and turned by the Spirit of the Lord to the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

From his house we went to Loveday Hambley's, where also we had a fine large meeting: and the Lord's power was over all, and many were convinced there also, and turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher.

After we had tarried there two or three days, we came to Thomas Mounce's, where we had a general meeting for the whole county, which, being very large, was held in his orchard. Friends from Plymouth were there, and from many places; and the Lord's power was over all; and a great convincement there was in many places of the county. And all their watches were down in all those countries; and all was plain and open; for the Lord had let me see, before I was set at liberty, that he would make all the country plain before us. Now Thomas and Ann Curtis, with another, an alderman of Reading, who was convinced, had come to Launceston to see us while I was a prisoner: and when Ann, and the other man returned, Thomas Curtis staid behind in Cornwall, and did good service for the Lord there at that time.

From Thomas Mounce's we passed to Launceston again, and visited that little remnant of friends that had been raised up there while we were there in prison; and the Lord's plants grew finely, and were established on Christ, their rock and foundation. As we were going out of town again, the constable of Launceston came running to us with the cheese that had been taken from Edward Pyot; which they had kept from us all this while, and were tormented with it. But we, being now set at liberty, would not receive it.

From Launceston we came to Okington, and lay at an inn, which the mayor of the town kept. He had stopped and taken up several friends, but was very civil to us, and was convinced in his judgment.

From thence we came through the countries to Exeter, where many friends were in prison; and amongst the rest James Nayler. For a little before the time that we were set at liberty, James run out into imaginations, and a com-

pany with him; and they raised up a great darkness in the nation. And he came to Bristol, and made a disturbance there: and from thence he was coming to Launceston to see me, but was stopped by the way and imprisoned at Exeter; as were also several others that were coming to see me; one of whom, an honest, tender man, died in prison there, whose blood lieth on the heads of his persecutors.

That night that we came to Exeter I spake with James Nayler; for I saw he was out, and wrong; and so was his company. The next day, being the first-day of the week, we went to the prison to visit the prisoners, and had a meeting with them in the prison; but James Nayler, and some of them could not stay the meeting. There came a corporal of horse into the meeting, and was convinced, and remained a very good friend. The next day I spake to James Nayler again; and he slighted what I said, and was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said, since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his shew of kindness: so the Lord God moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him. So after I had been warring with the world, there was now a wicked spirit risen up amongst friends to war against: and I admonished him and his company. And when he was come to London, his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens: but he came to see his out-going, and to condemn it; and after some time he returned to truth again, as in the printed relation of his repentance, condemnation, and recovery, may be more fully seen.

We passed from Exeter through Collumpton and Taunton, visiting friends, and had meetings amongst them, and declared the word of life unto them. And from thence we came to Puddimore, to William Beaton's; and on the first-day we had a very large meeting there: for a great conviction there was all up and down that country, and many meetings we had, and the Lord's power was over all; and many were turned by the power and Spirit of God to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them, and they came to sit under his free teaching.

From thence we went to John Dandy's, where we had another precious meeting; and the Lord's power was over all, and many were convinced of God's eternal truth. Some contention was raised by professors and baptists in some places, but the Lord's power came over them. From thence we came to Edward Pyot's house near Bristol. It was the seventh-day at night that we came thither; and it

was quickly noised over the town that I was come. Now I had never been there before.

On the first-day morning I went to the meeting in Broadmead at Bristol; and a great meeting there was, and quiet. Notice was given of a meeting to be in the afternoon in the orchard. There was at Bristol a rude baptist, named Paul Gwin, who had used before to make great disturbance in our meetings, being encouraged and set on by the mayor, who, as it was reported, would sometimes give him his dinner to encourage him; and such multitudes of rude people would he gather after him, that it was thought there had been sometimes ten thousand people at our meeting in the orchard. As I was going along into the orchard the people told me, that Paul Gwin, the rude jangling baptist, was going to the meeting; but I bade them never heed, it was nothing to me who went to it. When I was come into the orchard, I stood upon the stone that friends used to stand on when they spake; and I was moved of the Lord to put off my hat, and to stand a pretty while, and let the people look at me; for some thousands of people were there. While I thus stood silent, this rude baptist began to find fault with my hair; but I said nothing to him. Then he run on into words; and at last, 'Ye wise men of Bristol,' said he, 'I strange at you, that you will stand here and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good.' Then the Lord opened my mouth (for as yet I had not spoken a word), and I asked the people, whether they ever heard me speak before; or ever saw me before; and I bade them take notice what kind of man this was amongst them that should so impudently say that I spake and affirmed that which I could not make good, and yet neither he nor they ever heard me or saw me before. Therefore that was a lying, envious, malicious spirit, that spake in him; and it was of the devil, and not of God. Therefore I charged him in the dread and power of the Lord to be silent: and the mighty power of God came over him, and all his company. And then a glorious, peaceable meeting we had, and the word of life was divided amongst them; and they were turned from the darkness to the light, and to Jesus their Saviour. And the scriptures were largely opened to them; and the traditions, and rudiments, and ways, and doctrines of men were laid open before the people, which they had been in; and they were turned to the light of Christ, that with it they might see them, and see him to lead them out of them. I opened also to them the types, and figures, and shadows of Christ in the time of the law; and shewed them, that Christ was

come, and had ended the types, and shadows, and tithes, and oaths, and put down swearing; and had set up yea and nay instead of it, and a free ministry; for he was now come to teach people himself, and his heavenly day was springing from on high. So for many hours did I declare the word of life amongst them in the eternal power of God, that by him they might come up into the beginning, and be reconciled to him. And having turned them to the Spirit of God in themselves that would lead into all truth, I was moved to pray in the mighty power of God; and the Lord's power came over all. But when I had done, this fellow began to babble again; and John Audland was moved to bid him repent, and fear God. So his own people and followers being ashamed of him, he passed away, and never came again to disturb the meeting. And the meeting broke up quietly, and the Lord's power and glory shined over all: a blessed day it was, and the Lord had the praise. After awhile this Paul Gwin went beyond the seas; and many years after I met with him again at Barbadoes: of which in its place.

From Bristol we returned to Edward Pyot's, where we had a great meeting; and the Lord's power was over all, and truth was declared and spread abroad, and many were turned to Christ Jesus, their life, their prophet to teach them, their shepherd to feed them, and their bishop to oversee them. After the meeting was done, I had some reasoning with some professors; and the Lord's truth and power came over them.

From Edward Pyot's we passed to Slattenford, where we had a very large meeting (Edward Pyot and another friend being still with us); and a great turning of people there was to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher: and people were glad that they were brought to know their way, and their free teacher, and their Saviour Christ Jesus.

On the first-day following we went to Nathaniel Crips's house, who had been a justice of peace in Wiltshire, where it was supposed there were between two and three thousand people at a meeting; and all was quiet: and the mighty power of God was manifest, and people were turned to the grace and truth in their hearts, that came by Jesus Christ, which would teach them to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and godly in this present world; so that every man and woman might know the grace of God, which had appeared to all men, and which was saving, and sufficient to bring their salvation. This was to be their teacher, the grace of God, which would teach them how to live, what to do, and what to

deny; and would season their words, and establish their hearts. And this was a free teacher to every one of them; so that they might come to be heirs of this grace, and of Christ, by whom it came; who hath ended the prophets, and the priests that took tithes, and the jewish temple. And as for these hireling priests that take tithes now, and their temples (which priests were made at schools and colleges of man's setting up, and not by Christ,) they, with all their inventions, were to be denied. For the apostles denied the true priesthood and temple, which God had commanded, after Christ had put an end thereto. So the scriptures, and the truths therein contained, were largely opened, and the people turned to the Spirit of God in their hearts; that by it they might be led into all truth, and understand the scriptures, and know God and Christ, and come to have unity with them, and one with another in the same spirit. And the people went away generally satisfied, and were glad, that they were turned to Christ Jesus, their teacher and Saviour.

The next day we went from thence to Marlborough, where we had a little meeting; and the sessions being in that town that day, they were granting forth a warrant to send for me. But one justice Stooks being at the sessions, stopped them, telling them there was a meeting at his house yesterday, at which were several thousands. So the warrant was stopped and the meeting was quiet; and several received Christ Jesus their teacher, and came into the new covenant, and abode in it.

From hence we went to Newberry, where we had a large, blessed meeting, and several were convinced there. Thence we passed on to Reading, where we had a large, precious meeting in the Lord's power amongst the plants of God; and many of the world came in, and were reached, and added to the meeting: and all was quiet, and the Lord's power was over all. We went from Reading to Kingston-upon-Thames, where a few came in to us that were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ: but since it is become a larger meeting.

Leaving Kingston, we rode to London; and when we came near Hyde Park, we saw a great concourse of people, and looking towards them, we espied the Protector coming in his coach. Whereupon I rode up to his coach-side; and some of his life-guard would have put me away, but he forbade them. So I rode down by his coach-side with him, declaring what the Lord gave me to say unto him of his condition, and of the sufferings of friends in the nation; shewing him how contrary this persecution was to Christ

and his apostles, and to Christianity. When we were come to James's Park-gate, I left him, and at parting he desired me to come to his house. The next day, one of his wife's maids, whose name was Mary Sanders, came up to me at my lodging, and said her master came to her, and told her he would tell her some good news; and when she asked him what it was, he told her George Fox was come to town. She replied that was good news indeed (for she was one that had received truth), but she said she could hardly believe him, till he told her how I met him, and rode from Hyde-Park down to James's Park with him.

After a little time Edward Pyot and I went to Whitehall: and when we came before him there was one called Dr. Owen, vice-chancellor of Oxford, with him. We were moved to speak to Oliver Cromwell concerning the sufferings of friends, and laid them before him, and directed him to the light of Christ, who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world. And he said it was a natural light; but we shewed him the contrary, and manifested that it was divine and spiritual, proceeding from Christ, the spiritual and heavenly man; and that which was called the life in Christ the word, was called the light in us. The power of the Lord God arose in me, and I was moved in it to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus: several times I spake to him to the same effect. Now I was standing by the table, and he came and sate upon the table's side by me, and said he would be as high as I was; and so continued speaking against the light of Christ Jesus; and went away in a light manner. But the Lord's power came over him, so that when he came to his wife and other company, he said, 'I never parted so from them before;' for he was judged in himself.

After he had left us, as we were going out, many of his great persons came about us; and one of them began to speak against the light, and against the truth; and I was made to slight him, for speaking so lightly of the things of God. Whereupon, one of them told me he was the major-general of Northamptonshire. 'What!' said I, 'our old persecutor, that has persecuted and sent so many of our friends to prison, and is a shame to Christianity and religion! I am glad I have met with thee,' said I; and so I was moved to speak sharply to him, of his unchristian carriages, and he slunk away, for he had been a cruel persecutor in Northamptonshire.

Now, after I had visited the meetings of friends in and about London, I went into Buckinghamshire, and Edward Pyot with me; and in several places in that county many

received the truth, and great meetings we had, and the Lord's power was eminently manifested. So I passed through Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire, into Lincolnshire. And after I had had several meetings in Lincolnshire, I had at last a meeting where two knights, one called Sir Richard Wrey, and the other, Sir John Wrey, with their wives, were at the meeting; and one of their wives was convinced, and received the truth, and died in it. When the meeting was done we passed away, and it being in the evening, and dark, a company of wild fellows that were serving men, met me, and encompassed me about, with intent (as I apprehended) to have done me some mischief. But I spake aloud to them, and asked, 'What are ye? highwaymen?' Whereupon some friends and friendly people that were behind, came up to us, and knew some of them. So I reprov'd them for their uncivil and rude carriage, and exhorted them to fear God; and the Lord's power came over them, and stopped their mischievous design; blessed be his name for ever!

Then I turned into Huntingdonshire: and the mayor of Huntingdon came to visit me, and was very loving, and his wife received the truth.

Thence I passed into Cambridgeshire, and so came into the fen-country, where I had many meetings, and the Lord's truth spread. Robert Craven (who had been sheriff of Lincoln) and Amor Stoddart, and Alexander Parker were with me. We went to Crowland, a very rude place, for the town's people were got together at the inn we went to, and were half drunk, both priest and people. I reprov'd them for their drunkenness, and warned them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all the wicked, exhorting them to leave their drunkenness, and turn to the Lord in time. Whilst I was thus speaking to them, and shewing the priest the fruits of his ministry, the priest and the clerk brake out into a rage, and got up the tongs and fire-shovel at us; so that had not the Lord's power preserved us, we might have been murdered amongst them. Yet, for all their rudeness and violence, some received the truth then, and have stood in it ever since.

From thence we passed through the country to Boston, where most of the chief of the town came to our inn, and the people seemed to be much satisfied. But there was a raging man in the yard, and Robert Craven was moved to speak to him, and told him he shamed Christianity, which with some few other words so stopped the man, that he went away quiet. And some were convinced there also.

Thus passing through the countries we had large meet-

ings up and down, for I travelled into Yorkshire, and returned out of Holderness, over Humber, visiting friends; and then returning into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, among friends, I had a meeting at Edge-hill, that was very rude. There came to it ranters, baptists, and several sorts of rude people, for I had sent word about three weeks before to have a meeting there, so that many hundreds of people were gathered thither, and many friends came far to it. And the Lord's everlasting truth and word of life reached over all, that all the rude people and unruly spirits were chained down; and many that day were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, by his power and Spirit, and came to sit under his blessed, free teaching, and to be fed with his eternal, heavenly food. All was quiet and peaceable, and the people passed quietly away, and some of them said it was a mighty powerful meeting, for the presence of the Lord was felt, and his power and Spirit amongst them.

From hence I passed to Warwick and to Bagley, having precious meetings; and from thence into Gloucestershire, and so to Oxford, where the scholars were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them: and great meetings we had up and down as we travelled. Then I went to colonel Grimes's, where there was a very large meeting, and from thence to Nathaniel Crips's, where there came another justice to the meeting, who was also convinced; and he lay with me there. At Cirencester also we had a meeting, which since is much increased, and so we came to Evesholme again, where I met John Cam.

Thus having travelled over most part of the nation, I returned to London again, having cleared myself of that which lay upon me from the Lord. For after I was released out of Launceston-gaol, I was moved of the Lord to travel over most parts of the nation, the truth being now spread, and finely planted in most places, that I might answer, and remove out of the minds of people some objections, which the envious priests and professors had raised and spread abroad concerning us. For what Christ said of false prophets and antichrists coming in the last days, that they applied to us, and said we were they.

Therefore was I moved to open this through the nation, and to shew that they who said that we were the false prophets, antichrists and deceivers, that should come in the last days, were indeed themselves they. For when Christ told his disciples in the 7th and 24th of Matthew, that false prophets and antichrists should come in the last times, and (if it were possible) should deceive the very

elect; he said "By their fruits ye shall know them:" for they should be inwardly ravening wolves, having the sheep's clothing. "And" said he, "do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" as much as to say, their nature and spirit should be like a thorn, or like a thistle. And he bid his disciples not go after them: but before the disciples were deceased, the antichrists, false prophets and deceivers were come. For John in his first epistle said, "Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now there are many antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last time." So here, as Christ said to his disciples they should come, the disciples saw they were come: as may be seen at large in Peter, Jude, John, and other places of scripture; "whereby," says John, "we know it is the last time." And this last time was above sixteen hundred years since. John said, "they went out from us;" the false prophets, antichrists, seducers, and deceivers, went out from the church: "but you," said he to the church, "have an anointing, which abideth in you; and you need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things: and as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." Christ said to his disciples, "Go not after them (for they are inwardly ravening wolves):" and John exhorts the saints to the anointing within them; and the rest of the apostles exhort the churches to the grace, the light, the truth, the spirit, the word of faith, and to Christ in their hearts, the hope of glory. Christ told the saints that the spirit of truth, the Holy Ghost, should be their leader into all truth; and Jude exhorts the church to pray in the Holy Ghost, and to be built up on their most holy faith, which Christ was the author of. Christ, by his servant John, exhorted the seven churches to hear what the Spirit said to the churches, and this was an inward, spiritual hearing. Christ says, the inwardly-ravening wolves should have the sheep's clothing: Paul speaks of some in his time, that had a form of godliness, but denied the power: John said, they went out from us: Jude said, they go in Cain's way, and in Balaam's, and Corah's way. By all which it may be clearly seen, that the false prophets and antichrists, which Christ foretold should come, the apostles saw were come; and in their day it was the last time; and these went forth from them into the world, and the world went after them. These were the foremen, the leaders of the world, that brought them into a form of godliness, but inwardly ravened from the power and spirit. These have the sheep's clothing, the words of Christ, of the prophets, and of the apostles;

but are inwardly ravened from the power and spirit that they were in who gave forth the scriptures. These have made up the beast and the whore! These have gotten the dragon's power, the murdering, destroying, persecuting power! And these are they that the world wonders after! These have drunk the blood of the martyrs, prophets, and saints, and persecuted the true church into the wilderness! These have set up the false, compelling worships, and have drunk the blood of the saints, that will not drink of their cup! These have made the cage for the unclean birds, that have their several unclean notes in their cage; which cage is made up by the power of darkness, and unclean ghost: and the birds of the cage deny the Holy Ghost, and power of God, which the apostles were in, to be now manifested in the saints! Thus since Christ said the false prophets and antichrists should come, and the apostle said they were come, the beast's and the dragon's worship hath been set up; and the whore is got up with her false prophets, and her cage hath been made, and all nations have drunk of her cup of fornication; and the blood of the martyrs and saints they have drunk, and the true church hath fled into the wilderness: and all this since the apostles' days. And yet the blind deceivers of all sorts, the antichrists and false prophets of our age tell us, and would make us and people believe, that the false prophets, antichrists and deceivers are come but now, though John and other of the apostles tell us, they were come above sixteen hundred years ago; and ye may see what work and confusion they have made in the world; how much blood these Cains have drunk that went in Cain's way, which blood cries to God for vengeance upon Christendom! And how these Baalams, that have erred from the power and spirit which the apostles were in, have coveted after other men's estates, the many jails, courts, and spoilings of goods will bear witness. And how the Corahs have gainsayed the life, and power, and spirit, which the apostles and true church were in, and the free teaching of Christ and of his apostles, and the work of their ministry, which was to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus, hath been evident.

Therefore in the name and power of the Lord Jesus was I sent to preach again the everlasting gospel, which had been preached before unto Abraham, and in the apostles' days, and was to go over all nations, and to be preached to every creature. For as the apostacy hath gone over all nations since the apostles' days, so that the nations are become as waters, unstable, being gone from Christ the foun-

dation; so must the gospel, the power of God, go over all nations again. Now we find the false prophets, antichrists, deceivers, whore, false church, beast, and his worship in the dragon's power, to have got up in the times betwixt the apostles and us. For Christ said, they should come; and the apostles saw they were come, and coming in their days; and that they went forth from them, and the world went after them. And now hath the Lord raised us up beyond them, and set us over them in the everlasting gospel, the power of God; that as all have been darkened by the beast, whore, false prophets, and antichrists, so the everlasting gospel may be preached again by us to all nations, and to every creature, which will bring life and immortality to light in them, that they may see over the devil and his false prophets, antichrists, seducers, and deceivers, and over the whore and beast, and before they were. This message of the glorious everlasting gospel was I sent forth to declare and publish, and thousands by it are turned to God, having received it; and are come into subjection to it and into the holy order of it. And since I have declared this message in this part of the world, and in America, and have written books of the same, to spread it universally abroad; the blind prophets, and preachers, and deceivers, have given over telling us the false prophets should come in the last times: for a great light is sprung up, and shines over their heads; so that every child in truth sees the folly of their sayings.

Then they got other objections against us, and invented shifts to save themselves from truth's stroke. For when we blamed them for taking tithes, which came from the tribe of Levi, and were set up here by the Romish church, they would plead, that Christ told the scribes and pharisees they ought to pay tithes of mint, annise, and cummin, though they had neglected the weightier matters; and that Christ said, the scribes and pharisees sate in Moses's seat, therefore all that they bid you do, that do and observe. And when we told them they were envious, persecuting priests, they would reply, that some preached Christ of envy, and some of contention, and some of good-will. Now these scriptures, and others such like they would bring to darken the minds of their hearers, and to persuade them and us, that we ought to do as they say, though they themselves were like the pharisees; and that we should rejoice when envious men and men of strife preached Christ; and that we should give them the tithes, as the Jews did to the tribe of Levi. These were fair glosses; and here was a great heap of husks, but no kernel. Now

this was their blindness : for the Levitical priesthood Christ hath ended, and disannulled the commandment that gave them tithes, and the law, by which those priests were made. And Christ did not come after that order, neither did he send forth his ministers after that order ; for those of that order were to take tithes for their maintenance ; but his ministers he sent forth freely. And as for hearing the pharisees, and the Jews paying tithes of mint, annise, and cummin, that was, before Christ was sacrificed and offered up : and the Jews were then to do the law, and perform their offerings and sacrifices, which the jewish priests did teach them. But after that Christ was offered up, he bid them then go into all nations and preach the gospel ; and ‘ Lo,’ said he, ‘ I will be with you to the end of the world :’ and in another place he saith, ‘ I will be in you.’ So he did not bid them go to hear the pharisees then, and pay tithe of mint, annise, and cummin then ; but go preach the gospel, and believe in the Lord Jesus, and be saved, and receive the gospel, which would bring people off from the Jews, and the tithes, and the Levitical law, and the offerings thereof, to Christ, the one offering, made once for them all. O what work had the apostle with both the Galatians and the Romans, to bring them off the law to the faith in Christ !

And as for the apostle’s saying some preached Christ of envy and strife, &c. that was at the first spreading of Christ’s name abroad, when they were in danger not only to be cast out of the synagogues, but to be stoned to death, that confessed to the name of Jesus, as may be seen by the uproars that were among the Jews and Diana’s worshippers at the preaching of Christ. So the apostle might well rejoice, if the envious, and men of strife and contention, did preach Christ at that time, though they thought thereby to add affliction to his bonds : but afterward, when Christ’s name was spread abroad, and many had gotten a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof, envious, proud, contentious men, men of strife, covetous men, teachers for filthy lucre, the apostles commanded the saints to turn from them, and not to have any fellowship with them. And the deacons and ministers were first to be proved, to see if they were in the power of godliness ; and the Holy Ghost made them overseers and preachers. So it may be seen how the priests have abused these scriptures for their own ends, and have wrested them to their own destruction to justify envious, contentious men, and men of strife. Whereas the apostle says, the man of God must be patient, and apt to teach ; and they were to follow Christ, as they

had them for their examples : the apostle indeed was very tender to people, while he saw them walk in simplicity ; as in the case of them that were scrupulous about meats and days ; but when the apostle saw that some drew them into the observation of days, and to settle in such things, he then reproves them sharply, and asks them, who had bewitched them. So in the case of marrying he was tender, lest their minds should be drawn from the Lord's joining ; but when they came to forbid marriage, and to set up rules for meats and drinks, he called it a doctrine of devils, and an erring from the true faith. So also he was tender concerning circumcision, and in tenderness suffered some to be circumcised : but when he saw they went to make a sect of it, and to set up circumcision as a standing practice, he told them plainly, if they were circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing. In like manner he was tender concerning the baptizing with water : but when he saw they began to make sects about it, some crying up Paul, others Apollos, he judged them, and called them carnal, and thanks God he had baptized no more, but such and such, declaring plainly, that he was sent to preach the gospel, and not to baptize ; and brought them to the one baptism by the one spirit, into the one body, which Christ, the spiritual man, is the head of ; and exhorted the church all to drink into that one spirit. For he set up in the church one faith, which Christ was the author of ; and one baptism, which was that of the spirit into the one body ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, who was the spiritual baptizer, who John said should come after him. And further the apostle declared, that they who worshipped and served God in the spirit, were of the circumcision of the spirit, which was not made with hands ; by which the body of the sins of the flesh was put off ; which circumcision Christ is the minister of.

Another great objection they had, that the Quakers denied the sacrament (as they called it) of bread and wine, which, they said, they were to take, and do in remembrance of Christ to the end of the world. A great deal of work we had with the priests and professors about this, and about the several sorts of ways that it is taken in Christendom, so called ; for some take it kneeling, and some sitting ; but none of them all, that ever I could find, take it according as the disciples took it : for they took it in a chamber, after supper ; but these generally take it before a dinner : and some say, after the priest hath blessed it, it is Christ's body. But as to the matter, Christ said, ' Do this in remembrance of me.' He did not tell them how often they should do it,

or how long; neither did he enjoin them to do it always, as long as they lived, or that all believers in him should do it to the world's end. The apostle Paul, who was not converted till after Christ's death, tells the Corinthians, that he had received of the Lord that which he delivered unto them concerning this matter: and he relates Christ's words concerning the cup thus; "This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me:" and himself adds, 'For [as often as] ye do eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.' So according to what the apostle here delivers, neither Christ nor he did enjoin people to do this always; but leaves it to their liberty, [as oft as ye drink it, &c.] Now the Jews did use to take a cup, and to break bread, and divide it among them in their feasts; as may be seen in the Jewish antiquities: so that the breaking of bread, and drinking of wine, were Jewish rites, which were not to last always. They did also baptize with water; which made it not seem a strange thing to them when John the baptist came with his decreasing ministration of water-baptism. But as to the bread and wine, after the disciples had taken it, some of them questioned whether Jesus was the Christ; for some of them said, after he was crucified, 'We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel, &c.' And though the Corinthians had the bread and wine, and were baptized in water, the apostle told them they were reprobates if Christ was not in them; and bid them examine themselves. And as the apostle said, 'As oft as ye do eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew forth the Lord's death, [till he come:]' so Christ had said before, that he was the bread of life, which came down from heaven; and that he would come and dwell in them; which the apostles did witness fulfilled; and exhorted others to seek for that which comes down from above: but the outward bread and wine and water are not from above, but from below. Now ye that eat and drink this outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, and have your fellowships in that, will ye come no nearer to Christ's death than to take bread and wine in remembrance of his death? After ye have eaten in remembrance of his death, ye must come into his death, and die with him, as the apostles did, if ye will live with him. And this is a nearer and further state, to be with him in the fellowship of his death, than only to take bread and wine in remembrance of his death. You must have a fellowship with Christ in his sufferings: if ye will reign with him, ye must suffer with him: if ye will live with him, ye must die with him; and if ye die with

him, ye must be buried with him : and being buried with him in the true baptism, ye also rise with him. Then having suffered with him, died with him, and been buried with him, if ye are risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God : eat the bread which comes down from above, which is not outward bread ; and drink the cup of salvation which he gives in his kingdom, which is not outward wine. And then there will be not a looking at the things that are seen (as outward bread and wine, and water are :) for, as says the apostle, ‘ The things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal.’ So here are many states and conditions to be gone through before people come to see that, and partake of that, which cometh down from above. For first, there was a taking of the outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ’s death : this was temporary, and not of necessity, but at their liberty, as oft as ye do it, &c. Secondly, there must be a coming into his death, a suffering with Christ ; and this is of necessity to salvation, and not temporary, but continual : there must be a dying daily. Thirdly, a being buried with Christ. Fourthly, a rising with Christ. Fifthly, after they are risen with Christ, then a seeking those things which are above ; a seeking the bread that comes down from heaven, and a feeding on that, and having fellowship in that. For outward bread, wine, and water, are from below, and are visible and temporal : but saith the apostle, ‘ We look not at things that are seen ; for the things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal.’ So the fellowship that stands in the use of bread, wine, water, circumcision, outward temple, and things seen, will have an end : but the fellowship which stands in the gospel, the power of God, which was before the devil was, and which brings life and immortality to light, by which people may see over the devil, that has darkened them ; this fellowship is eternal, and will stand. And all that are in it do seek that which is heavenly and eternal, which comes down from above, and are settled in the eternal mystery of the fellowship of the gospel, which is hid from all eyes, that look only at visible things. And the apostle told the Corinthians, who were in disorder about water, bread and wine, that he desired to know nothing amongst them but Jesus Christ, and him crucified.

Thus were the objections, which the priests and professors had raised against friends, answered and cleared ; and the stumbling blocks, which they had laid in the way of the weak, removed. And as things were thus opened,

people came to see over them and through them, and to have their minds settled upon the Lord Jesus Christ, their free teacher : which was the service, for which I was moved to travel over the nation after my imprisonment in Launceston jail. For in this year the Lord's truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord ; insomuch that there were seldom fewer than one thousand in prison in this nation for truth's testimony ; some for tithes, some for going to the steeple-houses, some for contempts (as they call them), some for not swearing, and others for not pulling off their hats, &c.

Now after I had visited most parts of the nation, and was come back to London again, finding that evil spirit at work which had drawn J. N. and his followers out from truth, to run friends into heats upon him, I writ a short epistle to friends, as followeth :

‘ To all the elect seed of God called Quakers, where the death is brought into the death, and the elder is servant to the younger, and the elect is known, which cannot be deceived, but obtains victory. This is the word of the Lord God to you all : Go not forth to the aggravating part, to strive with it out of the power of God ; lest ye hurt yourselves, and run into the same nature, out of the life. For patience must get the victory, and to answer that of God in every one ; which must bring every one to it, to bring them from the contrary. So let your moderation, and temperance, and patience be known unto all men in the seed of God. For that which reacheth to the aggravating part without life, sets up the aggravating part, and breeds confusion ; and hath a life in outward strife, but reacheth not to the witness of God in every one, through which they might come into peace and covenant with God, and fellowship one with another. Therefore that which reacheth this witness of God in yourselves, and in others, is the life and light ; which will out-last all, and is over all, and will overcome all. And therefore in the seed of life live, which bruise the seed of death.’

G. F.

I also writ another short epistle to friends to encourage them to keep up their meetings in the Lord's power ; of which epistle a copy here followeth :

‘ Dear friends,

‘ Keep your meetings in the power of the Lord ; which power is over all that which is in the fall and must have an

end. Therefore be wise in the wisdom of God, which is from above, by which all things were made and created; that that may be justified among you, and you all kept in the solid life, which was before death was; and in the light, which was before the darkness was with all its works. In which light and life ye all may feel, and have the heavenly unity and peace, possessing the gospel fellowship, that is everlasting: that was before that, which doth not last for ever; and will remain when that is gone. For the gospel being the power of God, that is pure and everlasting; know it to be your portion: in which is stability and life, and immortality, shining over that which darkens the mortal. And so be faithful every one to God, in your measures of his power and life, that ye may answer God's love and mercy to you, as the obedient children of the Most High; dwelling in the love, unity and peace, and in innocency of heart towards one another; that God may be glorified in you, and you kept faithful witnesses for him, and valiant for the truth on the earth. And so God Almighty preserve you all to his glory, that ye may all feel his blessing among you, and that ye may be possessors thereof.'

G. F.

And inasmuch as about this time many mouths were opened in our meetings, to declare the goodness of the Lord, and some that were young and tender in the truth would sometimes utter a few words in thanksgiving and praises to God; that no disorder might arise from thence in our meetings, I was moved to write an epistle to friends, by way of advice in that matter. And thus it was;

'All my dear friends in the noble seed of God, and who have known his power, life and presence among you, let it be your joy to hear or see the springs of life break forth in any; through which ye have all unity in the same, feeling life and power. And above all things take heed of judging any one openly in your meetings, except they be openly prophane or rebellious, such as be out of the truth; that by the power, life and wisdom ye may stand over them, and by it answer the witness of God in the world, that such, whom ye bear your testimony against, is none of you: so that therein the truth may stand clear and single. But such as are tender, if they should be moved to bubble forth a few words, and speak in the seed and Lamb's power, suffer and bear that, that is, the tender. And if they should go beyond their measure, bear it in the meeting for

peace and order's sake ; and that the spirits of the world be not moved against you. But when the meeting is done, then if any be moved to speak to them, between you and them, one or two of you, that feel it in the life, do it in the love and wisdom that is pure and gentle from above : for the love is that which doth edify, and bears all things, and suffers long, and doth fulfill the law. So in this ye have order and edification, ye have wisdom to preserve you all wise and in patience ; which takes away the occasion of stumbling the weak, and the occasion of the spirits of the world to get up : but in the royal seed, the heavy stone, ye keep down all that is wrong ; and by it answer that of God in all, and keep down the bad. For ye will hear, see and feel the power of God preaching, as your faith is all in it, (when ye do not hear words,) to bind, to chain, to limit, to frustrate ; that nothing shall rise, nor come forth, but what is in the power : for with that ye will hold back, and with that ye will let up, and open every spring, plant and spark ; in which will be your joy and refreshment (as I said before) in the power of God. For now ye that know the power of God, and are come to it, which is the cross of Christ, that crucifies you to the state that Adam and Eve were in in the fall, and so to the world ; by this power of God ye come to see the state that Adam and Eve were in before they fell ; which power of God is the cross, in which stands the everlasting glory ; which brings up into the righteousness, holiness and image of God, and crucifies to the unrighteousness, unholiness and image of Satan, that Adam and Eve, and their sons and daughters be in in the fall. Through this power of God ye come to see the state they were in before they fell ; yea, I say, and to an higher state, to the seed Christ, the second Adam, by whom all things were made. For man hath been driven from God : all Adam's and Eve's sons and daughters, being in the state of the fall, in the earth, are driven from God. But it is said, The church is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ : so who come to the church, which is in God the Father of Christ, they must come to God again ; and so out of the state that Adam and Eve, and his children be in, in the fall, out of the image of God, out of the righteousness and holiness : and they must come into the righteousness, into the true holiness, and into the image of God ; and so out of the earth, whither man hath been driven ; when they come to the church, which is in God. And the way to this is Christ, the light, the life, the truth, the Saviour, the Redeemer, the sanctifier and the justifier ; in and through whose power, light and life, who is the

way to God, conversion, regeneration and translation is known from death to life, from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God again. These are members of the true church, who know the work of regeneration in the operation and feeling of it; and being come to be members of the church in God, they are indeed members one of another in the power of God, which was before the power of darkness was. So they that come to the church, that is in God and Christ, they must come out of the state that Adam was in in the fall, driven from God; to know the state that he was in before he fell. But they that live in the state that Adam was in in the fall, and cannot believe a possibility of coming into the state he was in before he fell, come not to the church, which is in God; but are far off from that, and are not passed from death to life; but are enemies to the cross of Christ (which is the power of God.) For they mind earthly things, and serve not Christ, nor love the power, which should bring them up to the state that Adam was in before he fell; and crucify them to the state that man is in in the fall; that through this power they might see to the beginning, the power that man was in before the heavenly image, and holiness and righteousness was lost: by which power they might come up to know the seed, Christ, which brings out of the old things, and makes all things new, in which life eternal is felt. For all the poorness, emptiness and barrenness is in the state that man is in in the fall, out of God's power; by which power he is made rich again, and in which power he hath strength again; which power is the cross, in which the mystery of the fellowship stands: and in which is the true glorying, which crucifies to all other gloryings. And friends, though ye may have been convinced, and have tasted of the power, and felt the light; yet afterwards ye may feel a winter storm, tempest and hail, frost and cold, and temptation in the wilderness. Be patient and still in the power, and in the light, that doth convince you, to keep your minds to God; in that be quiet, that ye may come to the summer; that your flight be not in the winter. For if ye sit still in the patience, which overcomes in the power of God, there will be no flying. The husbandman, after he hath sowed his seed, is patient. And ye by the power being kept in the patience, will come by the light to see through, and feel over winter storms and tempests, and all the coldness, barrenness and emptiness: and the same light and power will go over the tempter's head; which power and light was before he was. So in the light standing still, ye will see your salvation, ye will see the

Lord's strength, ye will feel the small rain, ye will feel the fresh springs, your minds being kept low in the power and light: for that which is out of the power, lifts up. But in the power and light ye will feel God, revealing his secrets, inspiring your minds, and his gifts coming in unto you: through which your hearts will be filled with God's love, and praises to him that lives for evermore: for in his light and power his blessing is received. So in that, the eternal power of the Lord Jesus Christ preserve and keep you! And live every one in the power of God, that ye may all come to be heirs of that, and know that to be your portion; even the kingdom, that hath no end, and the endless life, which the seed is heir of. So feel that over all set, which hath the promise and blessing of God for ever.'

G. F.

About this time I received some lines from a high-flown professor, concerning the way of Christ; to which I returned the following answer.

'Friend,

'It is not circumstances we contend about, but the way of Christ and his light, which are but one; though the world hath imagined many ways, and all out of the light; which by the light are condemned. He who preached this light, said, "He that knoweth God, heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth not us: hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error." And it is the same now, with them that know the truth; though the whole world lies in wickedness. And all the dispensations and differences, that are not one in the light, we deny; and by the light, that was before separation, do we see them to be self-separations in the sensual, having not the spirit. Their fruits and end is weighed in the even balance, and found to be in the dark, the lo-here, and lo-there thou tellest of: and the presence of Christ is not with them, though the blind see it not; who see not with the pure eye, which is single; but with the many eyes, which lead into the many ways. Nor are any the people of God, but who are baptized into this principle of light; which all the faithful servants of the Lord were ever guided by in all ages, since the apostacy, and before. For the apostacy was from the light, and is from the light; and all that oppose the light are the apostates: who contest against the truth, are enemies to it, and are not acted by the spirit; but have another way than the light. All such are in the world, and its

words, fashions and customs, though of several forms, as to their worship; yet all under the god of this world, opposing the light and appearance of Christ, which should lead out from under his power, of what form soever they are: yet are they all joined against the light. And all these are of the world; and fighting against them who are not of the world, but are gathered and gathering out of the world: and so it ever was against the people of God, under what name soever. They only are saints by calling, who are called into the light; and sons of Sion, which vary not from the light, to which the spirit is promised, which is not tied to any forms out of the light; wherein all inherit who are co-heirs with Christ; which many talk of, who inherit the earthly instead of the heavenly. And whereas thou speakest of Christ and his apostles cloathing themselves with the sayings and words of the prophets; and of their being your example in so doing; I say, wolves will take the sheeps' cloathing; but the light and life finds them out, and judges (not by their stolen words, but) by their works. Nor did Christ cover himself with any words, but what were fulfilled in him; neither do any of Christ's boast in other men's lines made ready without them: to which rule if ye be obedient, fewer words and more life will be seen among you. Then ye will not count it straitness to silence the flesh, and hear what he saith, who speaks peace, that his people turn no more to folly. And if ye once know that what is stolen must be restored fourfold, the mouth of the false prophet will be stopped, which builds up in deceit, but not in righteousness. And whereas thou sayest, The spirit of truth affords nothing but endless varieties; I say, the spirit of truth thou knowest not: for the spirit of truth said, there is but one thing needful; and to speak the same thing again, is safe for the hearers. But that spirit, which affords nothing but endless varieties, is not the spirit of truth; but is gone out into curious notions: and the number of his names and colours is read no where, but in the unity of the spirit of truth. All others call truth deceit, and deceit truth, as the blind, that opposed the light, ever did; who are ever learning endless varieties, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, nor to an end of their labours: but when they are out in one form, get into another; so long as they can find a green tree without. And thus ye are kept at work all your life, and to the grave in sorrow, as the dumb priests (thou tellest of) have been before you: only ye have got a finer image, but less life. And thou, whose teaching hath no end, art in the horse-mill thou speakest of. I have read

the epistles to Timothy, and to the Hebrews; and there I find the duty of all believers is, to see to the law of the new covenant written in the heart, whereby all may know God, from the least to the greatest. I know the holy scriptures are profitable for the man of God; but what is that to the man of sin, to the first-born, who is out of the light, and being unstable and unlearned, wrest them to their own destruction; but to the life cannot come? And for your two ordinances thou speakest of, I say, upon the same account ye deny the priests of the world therein, upon the same we deny you; being both of you not only out of the life, but out of the form too. That command, Matth. xxviii. 19, ye never had, nor its power; which was, to baptize into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And what Paul received of the Lord, that body, and that bread, ye know as little, but what ye have found in the chapter; nor the coming of Christ neither, who cannot believe his light. And whereas thou speakest of preaching Christ of envy, and pleadest for it; I say, such preachers we have enough in these days. And what else art thou doing, who sayest, Paul was sent to baptize; though Paul says he was not: and so thou wouldest prove him a liar, if any would believe thee before him. Thou sayest also, For ought thou knowest, he might baptize thousands. I say, thou mightest as easily have said millions (when thou wast saying) and as soon have proved it; and thou mayest say the same of circumcision also, and on the same ground. As for the signs that followed those that believed, which thou sayest are ceased, I say, they who cannot receive the light cannot see the signs, nor could believe them if they should see them to carp at; no more than formerly they could do, who opposed the light in former ages: they cannot properly be said to cease to such, who never had them; but have only heard or read, that others long ago had them. But that the power, and signs, and presence of God is not the same that ever it was, in the measure, wherein he is received in the light, that I deny; and declare it to be false, and from a spirit that knows not God, nor his power. And as for the gospel foundation thou speakest of, I say, it is to be laid again in all the world: ye never were on it, since the man of sin set up his forms without power. And till ye can own the light of Christ, which the saints preached, and their life and practice, for shame cease to talk of their foundation, or glorious work, or quakings and tremblings, which are the saints' experiences, which the world knows not, nor can own: though ye cannot read that ever any came aright to declare

how they knew God, or received his word, without them. In thy exhortation thou bid'st me love Christ, wheresoever I see him : but had'st thou told me where one might come to see him, or how one might know him, thou had'st shewed more of a Christian in that than in all thou hast spoken. But it seems ye are not all of one mind : some of you say, he is gone, and will be no more seen, till doomsday ; but if ever ye come to see Christ to your comfort, while ye oppose his light, then God hath not spoken by me. This thou shalt remember, when thy time thou hast spent.'

G. F.

Great opposition did the priests and professors make about this time against the light of Christ Jesus, denying it to be universally given ; and against the pouring forth of the spirit, and sons and daughters prophesying thereby : and much they laboured to darken the minds of people, that they might keep them still in a dependence on their teaching. Wherefore I was moved of the Lord to give forth the following paper, for the opening of the minds and understandings of people, and to manifest the blindness and darkness of their teachers.

' To all you professors, priests and teachers, who are in the darkness, and know not the spirit in prison, and know not the light that shines in darkness, and which the darkness doth not comprehend ; but are the infidels, whom the god of the world hath blinded, and to whom the gospel is hid. For though ye have the four books, yet the gospel is hid to you ; who are now straining at the work of God, and do not believe that Christ hath enlightened every one that cometh into the world. To you I offer some scriptures to read, which will prove your spirits, and try them, how contrary they be unto the apostles' spirit, the spirit of Christ and of the saints. Christ went and preached to the spirits in prison (1 Pet. iii. 19.) He that readeth, let him understand, whether this was a measure of the spirit, yea or nay, or the spirit without measure, which he ministered to ? " For he whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God ; for God giveth not the spirit by measure unto him." (John iii. 34.) Here Christ had not the spirit given to him by measure. The apostle said, " We will not boast of things without (or beyond) our measure. (2 Cor. x. 13.) So here was measure, and not by measure. Christ, who received not the spirit by measure, told his disciples he would send them the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, that

he should guide them into all truth: for he should not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak, and he will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shew it unto you. (John xvi. 13. 14.) Mind, read and learn; the Comforter shall receive of mine, saith Christ, and shall shew it unto you: who hath the measure, receives of his, who hath not by measure. The Comforter, when he comes, is to reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment, (verse 8.) Now mind all the large work of God: the Spirit of Truth, which leads the saints into all truth, which receives of Christ's, and shews it unto the disciples, who be in the measure, he shall reprove the world of sin, because they do not believe, &c. The Comforter, whom Christ will send, takes of his, and shews it to the disciples; and the same reproveth the world. Mind now, whether this be a measure, yea or nay, which comes from him, who received not the spirit by measure. He that leads the believer into all truth, reproveth the unbeliever in the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment: so he that is led into all truth, sees that which is reproveth, by the Spirit of Truth that leads him. Now when Christ saith, "He shall take of mine, and shew it unto you;" whether this be a measure, yea or nay, from him whom God gave the spirit not by measure unto?

'And again the Lord said, both by his prophet (Joel ii. 28.) and his apostle (Acts ii. 17, 18). "It shall come to pass in the last days, I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants, and on my handmaidens, I will pour out in those days of my spirit, and they shall prophesy." Look, ye deceivers, here the Lord saith he will pour out of his spirit, mark the word [of it] of the Lord's Spirit upon all flesh. What! young men, old men, sons and daughters, and maids, all these to have the Spirit of God poured forth upon them? Here, say they, these deny the means then: nay, that is the means. And the great and notable day of the Lord is coming, wherein it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. The God of the spirits of all flesh is known; "And" saith the apostle, who would not boast of things beyond his measure, "that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them." (Rom. i. 19). By this which was of God manifest in them, they knew covetousness, maliciousness, murder, deceit and ungodliness, and knew that the judg-

ments of God were upon such things; and that they were worthy of death not only that did the same, but that had pleasure in them that did them. Therefore said the apostle, "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men," &c. Now this of God manifest in them, which God shewed unto them, by which they know unrighteousness, and God's judgments thereupon, and that they which commit such things (as are there mentioned) are worthy of death; whether this be a measure, yea or nay, which is of God, and which he hath shewed to them? What was that in them that did by nature the things contained in the law, which shewed the work of the law written in their hearts, (Rom. ii. 14, 15). Mark, written! Shall not this judge them that have the outward law, but are out of the life of it? The apostle saith, "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal." (1 Cor. xii. 7.) There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, but the manifestation of it is given to every man to profit withal. Mark, to one is given by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophesy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will. Mark that, to every man severally as he will.

' Again, the apostle saith, "the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world," (Tit. ii. 11, 12). Now ye, that turn this grace which brings salvation, into lasciviousness, ye deny it, and say, that which teacheth the saints, who by grace are saved, hath not appeared to all men. Jude saith, "Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches, which ungodly sinners have spoken against him." (verse 15). Here mark again; him that cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to convince all of their ungodly deeds and hard speeches; here it is, all of their ungodly deeds, and all of their hard speeches; none left out, but all to be convinced and judged, the world reprov'd by him who comes with ten thousands of his saints, and will reign, and be

king and judge. And have not ye all something in you, that doth reprove you for your hard speeches, and your ungodly deeds, the ungodliest of you all, who live in your hard speeches against him, and against his light and spiritual appearance in his people?

‘Again, the apostle writing to the Gentiles, saith, “But unto every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ,” (Ephesians iv. 7). Now mark, here is the measure of the gift of Christ, “who lighteth every man that cometh into the world,” (John i. 9.) that all men through him might believe. He that believeth on him is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned, &c. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world,” &c. (John iii. 18, 19). Now every man that cometh into the world being enlightened, one, he loveth it, and brings his deeds to the light, that with the light he may see whether they be wrought in God: the other, he hates the light, because his deeds are evil; and he will not bring his deeds to the light, because he knows the light will reprove him. So he that hates the light, wherewith Christ hath enlightened him, knows the light will reprove him for his evil deeds, and therefore he will not come to the light.

‘Again, the Lord by his prophet said concerning Christ, “I will give him for a light to the Gentiles, that he may be my salvation to the ends of the earth,” (Isa. xlix. 6). And what is that, which the children that walk according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit, that now worketh in the children of disobedience (Ephes. ii. 2), are disobedient to? Mark, and read for yourselves, who being disobedient, walk according to the course of the world, according to the power of the prince of the air; mark, I say, what it is that all such are disobedient to? He that hath an ear let him hear. The apostle saith to the Colossians, “the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience,” (Col. iii. 6). Come ye professors, let us see, is not this something of God that is disobeyed? Is it not that which is of God manifest in them, which God hath shewn them, which lets them see, God’s judgments are upon such when they act unrighteously? Is not this the measure of God (mark) and the spirit that is in prison? and the Spirit of God that is grieved?

‘And ye professors, come, let us read the parable of the talents, and reckon with you, and see who it is that hath hid the Lord’s money in the earth? Come ye, that have gained, enter ye into your master’s joy: go thou, that hast hid the Lord’s money in the earth, into utter darkness;

take it from him, and give it to him that hath; and every man shall have his reward. For the Lord hath given to every man according to his several ability (Mat. xxv. 15). Mark that, to every man according to his several ability: read this if you can: and now is the Lord coming to call every man severally to account, to whom he hath given severally according to their ability. And now the wicked and slothful servant, who hid the Lord's money in the earth, will be found out, and the Lord's money will be taken from him, although he hath hidden it: to him the Lord's commands have been grievous; but to us they are not, who love God and keep his commandments. "And," saith the apostle to the Romans, "I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith," (Rom. xii. 3). Read and mark, here is a measure of faith.

"And," saith another apostle, "as every one hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God," (1 Pet. iv. 10). "For the grace of God hath appeared to all men." Now, the good stewards can give their account with joy: but ye bad stewards, that turn the grace of God into lasciviousness, now ye will be reckoned withal; now ye shall have your reward. 'But,' say the world, 'must every one minister as he hath received the gift?' 'Yea,' say I, "but let him speak as the oracles of God; and let him do it as of the ability which God giveth," (verse 11). John in the Revelation saith, "They were judged every man according to their works," (Rev. xx. 13). Christ saith, "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment." (Mat. xii. 36). "So ye, that name the name of Christ, depart from iniquity." (2 Tim. ii. 19). "The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels; and then he shall reward every one according to his works," (Mat. xvi. 27). He who is gone into a far country, and hath given the talents to every one of you, according to your several ability, "will render to every man according to his deeds," (Rom. ii. 6). "And further I say unto you, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life, because of righteousness," (Rom. viii. 9, 10). So let the light which cometh from Christ examine; for the Lord is appearing. Ye that have received according to your ability, smite not your fellow-servant; and think not that

the Lord delayeth the time of his coming. Be not as they that said "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die."

'The apostle tells the Ephesians, that unto him this grace was given—"to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ," (Ephesians iii. 9). Read and understand every one with the light which comes from Christ the mystery, which will be your condemnation, if ye believe not in it. This is to all, who stumble at the work of the Spirit of God, the manifestation of it, which is given to every man, to profit withal. Come, ye professors, who stumble at it, let us read the parables. "A sower went forth to sow; and some seed fell on the highway-ground, and some on stony ground, and some on thorny ground: the Seed is the word, the Son of man is the seeds-man. He that hath an ear, let him hear." (Mat. xiii.) Now look, all ye professors, which ground ye are? and what ye have brought forth? and whether the wicked seedsman hath not got his seed into your ground? "He that hath an ear, let him hear." And come, read another parable, of the householder, hiring labourers to go into the vineyard, and agreeing with every man for a penny (Mat. 20). Every man is to have his penny, the last that went in, as well as the first: and the last shall be first, and the first shall be last; for many are called, but few are chosen. "He that hath an ear, let him hear." There is a promise spoken to Cain, that if he did well he should be accepted, (Gen. iv. 7). And Esau had a birth-right, but despised it. Yet is it not of him that willeth (Rom. ix. 16); but by grace ye are saved, (Ephes. ii. 8). And stand still, and see your salvation, (Exod. xiv. 13.) And ye that be children of light, put on the armour of light, that ye may come into "the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto a measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ: that henceforth ye be no more children tossed to and fro." (Ephes. iv. 13).

'And the Lord said, he would make a covenant, by writing his law in peoples' hearts, and putting his Spirit in their inward parts; whereby they should all come to know the Lord, him by whom the world was made. Now every one of you mind the law written in your hearts, and this Spirit put in your inward parts, that it need not be said to you, know the Lord; but that ye may witness the promise of God fulfilled in you. 'But,' say the world, and professors, 'if every one must come to witness the law of God

written in their hearts, and the Spirit put in the inward parts, what must we do with all our teachers? As we come to witness that, we need not any man to teach us to know the Lord, having his law written in our hearts, and his Spirit put in our inward parts. This is the covenant of life, the everlasting covenant, which decays not, nor changes not: and here is the way to the Father, without which no man cometh unto the Father. And here is the everlasting priesthood, the end of the old priesthood, whose lips were to preserve knowledge: but now, saith Christ, Learn of me, who is the high-priest of the new priesthood. "And," saith the apostle, "that ye may grow up in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, in whom are hid the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." So we are brought off from the old priesthood that did change, to Christ, to the new priesthood, that doth not change; and off from the first covenant, that doth decay, to the everlasting covenant that doth not decay, Christ Jesus, the covenant of light, from whom every one of you have a light, that ye might believe in the covenant of light. If ye do not believe, ye are condemned; for light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. "I am come a light into the world," saith Christ, "that whosoever believeth in me, should not abide in darkness, but have the light of life." (John xii. 46). And, "believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light." But ye who do not believe in the light, but hate it, because it manifests your deeds to be evil, ye are they that are condemned by the light. Therefore while ye have time prize it: seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is nigh; lest he say, time is past; for the rich glutton's time was past. Therefore while time is not quite past, consider and search yourselves, and see if ye be not they that hate the light; and so are builders that stumble at the corner stone: for they that hated the light, and did not believe in the light, did so in ages past. "I am the light of the world," saith Christ, "and who doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world:" and he also saith "learn of me," and of him God saith, "this is my beloved Son, hear ye him:" here is your teacher. But ye that hate the light do not learn of Christ, and will not have him to be your king, to reign over you; him, to whom all power in heaven and earth is given, who bears his government upon his shoulders, who is now come to reign; who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and who will give to every man a reward, according to his works, whether they be good or evil. So every man, with

the light that comes from Christ, will see his deeds, both he that hates it and he that loves it. And he that will not bring his deeds to the light, because the light will reprove him, that is his condemnation; and he shall have a reward according to his deeds. For the Lord is come to reckon with you, and he looks for fruits; and now the axe is laid to your root, and every tree of you that bears not good fruit, must be hewn down, and cast into the fire.' G. F.

Having staid sometime in London, and visited the meetings of friends in and about the city, and cleared myself of what services the Lord had at that time laid upon me there, I left the town, and travelled into Kent, Sussex and Surrey, visiting friends in those counties, amongst whom I had great meetings; and many times met with opposition from baptists and other jangling professors, but the Lord's power went over them.

We lay one night at Farnham, where we had a little meeting, and the people were exceeding rude, but at last the Lord's power came over them. After meeting we went to our inn, and gave notice that any that feared God might come to our inn to us; and there came abundance of rude people, and the magistrates of the town also and some professors. I declared the truth unto them, and those of the people that behaved themselves rudely the magistrates put out of the room. When they were gone, there came up another rude company of professors, and some of the chief of the town, and they called for faggots and drink, though we forbade them; and were as rude a carriageed people as ever I met withal. The Lord's power chained them that they had not power to do us any mischief; but when they went away, they left all their faggots and beer which they had called for into the room, for us to pay for in the morning. We shewed the innkeeper what an unworthy thing it was, but he told us we must pay it; and pay it we did. And before we left the town, I writ a paper to the magistrates and heads of the town, and to the priest, shewing them and him how he had taught his people, and laying before them their rude and uncivil carriage to strangers that sought their good.

Then leaving that place we came to Basingstoke, a very rude town, where they had formerly very much abused friends. There I had a meeting in the evening, which was quiet, for the Lord's power chained the unruly. At the close of the meeting I was moved to put off my hat, and to pray to the Lord to open their understandings; upon which they raised a report, that I put off my hat to them

and bid them good night, which was never in my heart. After the meeting, when we came to our inn, I sent for the innkeeper (as I used to do), and he came into the room to us, and shewed himself a very rude man; I admonished him to be sober and fear the Lord; but he called for faggots and a pint of wine, and drank it off himself, and then called for another, and called up half a dozen men into our chamber. Thereupon I bid him go out of the chamber, and told him he should not drink there, for we sent for him up to speak to him concerning his eternal good: and he was exceeding mad, rude and drunk. When he continued his rudeness and would not be gone, I told him the chamber was mine for the time I lodged in it, and I called for the key; and then he went away in a great rage. In the morning he would not be seen, but I told his wife of his unchristian and rude carriage towards us.

After this we passed through the country till we came to Bridport, having meetings in the way. We went to an inn there, and sent into the town for such as feared God to come to us; and there came a shopkeeper, a professor, and put off his hat to us, and seeing we did not like to him again, but said thou and thee to him, he told us he was not of our religion; and after some discourse with him he went away, his wife (who came with him) being somewhat loving. Then went he and stirred up the priest and magistrates against us, and after awhile sent to the inn to us, to desire us to come to his house, for there were some would speak with us, he said. Thomas Curtis was then with me, and he went down to the man's house; where when he came the man had laid a snare for him, for he had gotten the priest and magistrates thither, and they boasted much that they had caught George Fox, taking him for me. When they perceived their mistake, they were in a great rage, yet the Lord's power came over them, so that they let him go again. Mean while I had an opportunity of speaking to some sober people that came to the inn; and when Thomas was come back and we were passing out of the town, some of them came to us, and said the officers were coming to fetch me; but the Lord's power came over them all, so that they had not power to touch me. There were some convinced in the town that time, who were turned to the Lord, and have stood faithful in their testimony to the truth ever since, and a fine meeting there is there.

Passing from hence we visited Portsmouth and Pool, where we had glorious meetings; and many were turned to the Lord: and at Ringwood we had a large general

meeting, where the Lord's power was over all: and at Weymouth we had a meeting; and from thence came to Dorchester, and so to Lyme, where the inn we went to was taken up with mountebanks, so that there was hardly any room for us or our horses. In the evening we drew up some queries concerning the ground of all diseases, and the natures and virtues of medicinable creatures, and sent them to the mountebanks; letting them know, if they would not answer them, we would stick them on the cross next day; this brought them down and made them cool, for they could not answer them; but in the morning they reasoned a little with us, and we left the queries with some friendly people, that were convinced in the town, to stick upon the market-cross. And the Lord's power reached some of the sober people in that place, who were turned by the light and spirit of Christ to his free teaching.

Then travelled we on through the country till we came to Exeter; and there, at the sign of the Seven Stars, an inn at the bridge-foot, we had a general meeting of friends out of Cornwall and Devonshire, to which came Humphry Lower, and Thomas Lower, and John Ellis from the Land's End, and Henry Pollexfen, and friends from Plymouth, Elizabeth Trelawny, and divers other friends. A blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all, in which I saw and said, that the Lord's power had surrounded this nation round about, as with a wall and bulwark, and his seed reached from sea to sea; and friends were established in the everlasting seed of life, Christ Jesus, their life, rock, teacher and shepherd:

The next morning after the meeting, major Blackmore sent soldiers to apprehend me, but I was gone before they came; and as I was riding up the street, I saw the officers going down; so the wolf missed the lamb, and the Lord crossed them in their design, and friends passed away peaceably and quietly. The soldiers examined some friends after I was gone, what they did there; but when they told them they were in their inn, and had occasions and business in the city, they passed away without meddling any further with them.

From Exeter I travelled through the countries, taking meetings as I went, till I came to Bristol, and was at the meeting there. After the meeting was done I did not stay in the town, but passed up into Wales, and had a meeting at the Slone, and so passed through the country to Cardiff, where a justice of the peace sent to me, desiring I would come up, with half a dozen of my friends to his house; so I took a friend or two and went up to him, and he and his

wife received us very civilly. The next day we had a meeting in Cardiff in the town-hall, and that justice sent about seventeen of his family to the meeting; there came some disturbers, but the Lord's power was over them, and many were turned to the Lord there. There were some that had run out with James Naylor, that did not come to meetings; to whom I sent word, that the day of their visitation was over, and they never prospered after.

We travelled from Cardiff through the country to Swansea, where we had a blessed meeting; and a meeting was settled there in the name of Jesus. In our way thither we passed over in a passage-boat with the high-sheriff of the county, and the next day I went to have spoken with him, but he would not be spoken withal.

From thence we went to another meeting in the country, where the Lord's presence was much with us. And from thence we went to a great man's house, who received us very lovingly, but the next morning he would not be seen; one, that in the mean time came to him, had so estranged him, that we could not get to him to speak with him again, he was so changed, and yet over-night was exceeding loving.

We passed still on through the countries, having meetings and gathering people in the name of Christ, to him their heavenly teacher, till we came to Brecknock, where we set up our horses at an inn. There went with me Thomas Holmes and John-ap-John, who was moved of the Lord to speak in the streets. I walked out but a little into the fields, and when I came in again, the town was up in an uproar. When I came into the chamber in the inn, it was full of people, and they were speaking in Welch; I desired them to speak in English, and they did, and much discourse we had. After a while they went away; but towards night the magistrates gathered together in the streets, with a multitude of people, and they bid them shout, and gathered up the town; so that for about two hours together, there was such a noise, as the like we had not heard, and the magistrates set them on to shout again when they had given over. We thought it looked like the uproar, which we read was amongst Diana's handicrafts' men: this tumult continued till it was within night; and if the Lord's power had not limited them, they seemed likely to have pulled down the house, and us to pieces.

After it was night, the woman of the house would have had us go to supper in another room, but we discerning her plot, refused. Then she would have had half a dozen men come into the room to us, under pretence of dis-

coursing with us ; but we told her, that no persons should come into our room that night, neither would we go to them. Then she told us, we should sup in another room ; but we told her we would have no supper, if we had it not in our own room. At length when she saw she could not get us out, she brought up our supper in a great rage. So she and they were crossed in their design, for they had an intent to have done us mischief ; but the Lord God prevented them. Next morning I writ a paper to the town concerning their unchristian carriages, shewing the fruits of their priests and magistrates ; and as I passed out of the town I spake to the people, and told them they were a shame to Christianity and religion.

From this place we went to a great meeting in a steeple-house-yard, where was a priest, and Walter Jenkin, who had been a justice, and another justice ; and a blessed glorious meeting we had. And there being many professors, I was moved of the Lord to open the scriptures to them, and to answer the objections which they stuck at in their profession (for I knew them very well) and to turn them to Christ, who had enlightened them ; with which light they might see their sins and trespasses they had been dead in, and their Saviour, him that came to redeem them out of them, who was to be their way to God, the truth and the life to them, and their priest made higher than the heavens, so that they might come to sit under his teaching. A peaceable meeting we had, and many were convinced and settled in the truth that day. After the meeting was over, I went with Walter Jenkin to the other justice's house ; and he said unto me, ' You have this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered all the objections that were in their minds.' For the people had the scriptures, but they were not turned to the Spirit, which should let them see that, which gave them forth, the spirit of God, which is the key to open them.

From hence we passed to Pontamile, to Richard Hamborow's, where was a great meeting ; to which there came another justice of peace, and several great people, whose understandings were opened by the Lord's spirit and power, and the light of Jesus Christ, and they came to be turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, from whence it came ; a great conviction there was, and a large meeting is gathered in those parts, and settled in the name of Jesus.

After this we returned back to England, and came to Shrewsbury, where we had a great meeting ; and visited friends all up and down the countries in their meetings,

till we came to William Gandy's in Cheshire, where we had a meeting of between two and three thousand people (as it was thought); and the everlasting word of life was held forth, and received that day. A blessed meeting it was, for friends were settled by the power of God upon Christ Jesus, the rock and foundation.

At this time there was a great drought; and after this general meeting was ended, there fell so great a rain, that friends said they thought we could not travel, the brooks and waters would be so risen. But I believed the rain had gone so far, as they had come that day to the meeting. And the next day in the afternoon, when we turned back into some parts of Wales again, the roads were dusty, and no rain had fallen thereabouts.

And when Oliver Cromwell set forth a proclamation for a fast throughout the nation, for rain, when there was a very great drought, it was observed that as far as truth had spread in the north, there were pleasant showers and rain enough, when in the south, in many places, they were almost spoiled for want of rain. At that time I was moved to write an answer to the Protector's proclamation, wherein I told him if he had come to own God's truth, he should have had rain; and that drought was a sign unto them of their barrenness, and want of the water of life. And about the same time was writ the following paper to distinguish between the true and false fasts.

Concerning the true Fast and the false.

'To all you that be keeping fasts, who smite with the fist of wickedness, and fast for strife and debate, against you hath the voice cried aloud, like a trumpet, that you may come to know the true fast, which is accepted; and the fast, which is in the strife and the debate, and smiting with the fists of wickedness, which fast is not required of the Lord. Behold, in the day of your fast you find pleasure, and exact all your labour: behold, (mark, take notice) ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye shall not fast, as ye do this day, to make your voice known on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen, saith the Lord, a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head like a bulrush, and to spread sack-cloth under him? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?

'Consider all you that do fast, see, if it be not hanging down the head for a day, like a bulrush; and are in strife

and debate, and to smite with the fists of wickedness, to make your voice to be known on high: but this fast is not with the Lord accepted: but that which leads you from strife, from debate, from wickedness; which is not the bowing down of the head, as a bulrush for a day, and yet live in exacting and pleasure; this is not accepted with the Lord: but that which separates from all these before-mentioned; which separates from wickedness, debate, strife, pleasures, smiting with the fist of wickedness, that which separates from that, brings to know the true fast, which breaks the bonds of iniquity, and deals the bread to the hungry; brings the poor that are cast out to his own house, and when he sees any naked, he covers them, and hides not himself from his own flesh. Here is the true fast, which separates from them, where the bonds of iniquity are standing, and the heavy burthens of the oppressed remaining, and the yoke not broken; who deals not the bread to the hungry, and brings not the poor to their own house; and sees the naked, but lets him go unclothed, and hides himself from his own flesh. Yet such will make their voice to be heard on high, as Christ speaks of the pharisees, which sounded a trumpet before them, and disfigured their faces, to appear to men to fast; but the bonds of iniquity were standing, strife and debate was standing, striking with the fists of wickedness standing; that made their voice heard on high, who had their reward.

‘But that which brings to the true fast, which appears not to men to fast, but unto the Father which sees in secret; and the Father that seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. This fast separates from the pharisees’ fast, and them that bow the head for a day, like a bulrush: and this is it which brings to deal the bread to the hungry, and cloath thine own flesh when thou seest them naked; and bring the poor to thine house, and to loose the bonds of wickedness; mark, this is the fast; and to undo every heavy burthen (mark again), and to let the oppressed go free; this is the fast: and to break every yoke. And thou that observest this fast, then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rere-ward. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, ‘Here I am:’ if thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall thy light arise in ob-

scurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day. The light brings to know this fast ; and walking in it this fast is kept : and he that believeth in the light, in darkness abides not. And again ; the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones ; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not, Isa. lviii. 11. These are them that are guided with the light which comes from Christ, where the springs are.

‘And again ; they that shall be of thee, (that keeps this fast) shall build the old waste places, and thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations ; and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in, Isa. lviii. 12. Now that which gives to see the foundation of many generations, is the light which separates from all, which is out of the light : and they that go out of the light, though they may pretend a fast, and bowing down the head for a time, yet they are far from this fast, that doth raise up the foundation of many generations, and is the repairer of the breach, and restorer of the paths to dwell in. That which doth give to see this foundation of many generations, and these breaches that are to be repaired and restored, and paths to dwell in, is the light which brings to know the true fast ; and where this fast is known, which is from wickedness, from debate, from strife, from pleasures, from exacting, from the voice that is heard on high, from the speaking of vanity, from the bonds of iniquity, which breaks every yoke, and lets the oppressed go free, here the health grows. Where the morning is known, righteousness goes forth ; the glory of the Lord is the reward, and the light riseth, and the soul is drawn out to the hungry, and satisfies the afflicted soul ; and the springs of living water are known and felt. The waters fail not here ; the Lord guides continually, and the foundation of many generations comes to be seen and raised up : and the repairer of breaches is here witnessed, and the restorer of paths to dwell in.

‘But all such as be from the light which the prophets were in, with which they saw Christ, and such to be in fasts, where was strife, where was wickedness, where was debate, where was bowing down the head like a bulrush for a day, lifting their voice on high, and the bonds of wickedness yet standing, and the burthens unloosed, and the oppressed not let go free, and the yoke not broken, the nakedness not cloathed, the bread not dealt to the hungry, and this foundation of many generations not raised up ; until these things before-mentioned be broken down, on

such the light breaks not forth, as the morning, and the Lord hears them not. And such have their reward, and their iniquities have separated them from their God, and their sins have hid his face from them, that he will not hear: and such their hands are defiled with blood, and their fingers with iniquity, whose lips have spoken lies, and tongues have muttered perverseness. None calleth for justice, nor any plead for truth; they trust in vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity. They hatch cockatrice eggs, and weave the spider's web: he that eateth of their eggs, dies; and that which is crushed breaks out into a viper: their webs shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works. Mark and take notice; their works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands: their feet run to do evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood. Their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; wasting and destruction are in their paths; the way of peace they know not, and there is no judgment in their doings. They have made them a crooked path; whosoever goes therein shall not know peace: mark; such go from the light, therefore is judgment far; neither doth justice overtake. And here is obscurity, and here is the walking in darkness; and here is the groping like blind men, as though they had no eyes, and their stumbling at noon-day in the desolate places, like blind men. And here is the roaring like bears, and mourning sorely like doves; and here judgment is looked for, but there is none, and salvation is put far off: for the light is denied, which gives to see it. But here the multiplying of transgression, and their sins testifying against them, and the transgression that was within them, and their iniquities, which they knew in transgressing and lying against the Lord, speaking the things they should not, when that they knew with that of God in them, they should not speak it. So departing from the way of God, speaking oppression, revolting, conceiving and uttering forth from the heart words of falsehood: here is judgment turned away backward, and justice stands afar off; truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter. Yea, truth faileth, and he that departeth from evil makes himself a prey: yea, the Lord saw it, and it displeased him. These are such that are in the fast, which God doth not accept; and are not in the true fast, whose light breaks forth as the morning: but these are such that be in the false fast, who grope, like blind men.

‘ And that which gives to know the true fast, and the false fast, is the light, which is the eye, that gives to

see each fast, where the true judgment is, and the iniquity standeth not, nor the transgressor, nor the speaker of lies; but that is judged and condemned with the light, which makes it manifest. And who be in this fast, when they call upon the Lord, the Lord will answer them, Here am I; and here truth is pleaded for, and falsehood flies away. But who be out of this fast in the perverseness, tongues uttering perverse things, are stumbling and groping like blind men, which be from the light in the iniquity, which separates from God, who hides his face from them that he will not hear; going from the light goes from the Lord and his face. So this is it which must be fasted from, for this is it which separates from God; and here comes the reward openly, which condemns all that before-mentioned, which is contrary to the light; injustice, iniquity, transgression, vanity, and that which bringeth forth mischief, which hatcheth the cockatrice eggs, and weaves the spider's web; he that eateth of these eggs, dies. Mark, that which is crushed breaks out into a viper; mark again, their web shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works of vanity; acts of violence are in their hands; this is all from the light in the wickedness. Their feet run to do evil, and they make haste to spill innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of vanity; wasting and destruction is in their path; this is all from the light. Again, the way of peace they know not, there is no judgment in their goings; they have made them crooked paths, whosoever goes therein, shall not know peace. Mark; who goes in their way, that know not the way of peace, shall they know peace? Whose path is crooked, where there is no judgment in their goings; take notice, no judgment in their goings; and this is all from the light, which manifesteth that which is to be judged; where the covenant of peace is known, where all that which is contrary to it before mentioned, is kept out. Which all who live in those things before mentioned, contrary to the light, in the false fast, they may mark their path, and behold their reward; who be out of the light, stumbling and groping like blind men. Which they that be in the true fast, are from all them separated; their words, their actions, and fruits, and their fast: whose fast breaks the bonds of iniquity, and whom the Lord hears, and to whom righteousness springs forth, and goes before them, the glory of the Lord is the reward.' G. F.

We passed up into Wales through Montgomeryshire, and so into Radnorshire, where there was a meeting like

a leaguer for multitudes. I walked a little aside whilst the people were gathering; and there came to me John-ap-John, a Welchman, whom I spake to to go up to the people; and if he had any thing upon him from the Lord to speak to them, he might speak to them in Welch, and thereby gather them more together. Then came Morgan Watkins to me, who was then become loving to friends; 'and,' said he, 'the people lie like a leaguer, and the gentry of the country is come in.' I bad him go up also, and leave me, for I had a great travel upon me for the salvation of the people. When they were well gathered together, I passed up into the meeting, and stood upon a chair about three hours. And I stood a pretty while before I began to speak: after some time I felt the power of the Lord went over the whole assembly; and the Lord's everlasting life and truth shined over all; and the scriptures were opened to them, and the objections they had in their minds were answered. And they were every one directed to the light of Christ, the heavenly man; that by it they might all see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator, and come to feed upon him, the bread of life from heaven. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to his free teaching that day; and all were bowed down under the power of God: so that though the multitude was so great that many sat on horseback to hear, there was no opposition made by any. And a priest sate with his wife on horseback, and heard attentively, and made no objection; but the people parted peaceably and quietly, with great satisfaction; many of them saying they never heard such a sermon before, and the scriptures so opened. For the new covenant was opened, and the old, and the nature and terms of each; and the parables were explained: and the state of the church in the apostles' days was set forth, and the apostacy laid open; and the free teaching of Christ and the apostles was set a top of all the hireling teachers: and the Lord had the praise of all, for many were turned to him that day.

I went back from thence to Leominster, where there was a great meeting in a close; many hundreds of people being gathered together. There were a matter of six congregational preachers and priests among the people; and Thomas Taylor, who had been a priest, but was now become a minister of Christ Jesus, was with me. I stood up, and declared about three hours; and none of the priests were able to open their mouths in opposition; the Lord's power and truth so reached them, and bound them down.

At length one priest went off about a bow-shot from me, and drew several of the people after him, and there set a preaching to them: so I kept our meeting, and he kept his. But after a while Thomas Taylor was moved to go to him, and speak to him; and he gave over: and then he, and the people he had drawn off, came up to us again; and the Lord's power went over them all. At last a baptist, that was convinced, said, 'Where's priest Tombs? how chance he doth not come out?' This Tombs was priest of Leominster. Hereupon some went and told the priest; and up comes he with the bailiffs and other officers of the town: and when he was come, they set him upon a stool over against me. Now I was speaking of the heavenly, divine light of Christ, which he enlightens every one that cometh into the world withal; and turning them to it, to give them the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus, their Saviour. When priest Tombs heard this, he cried out, 'That is a natural light, and a made light.' Then I desired the people to take out their bibles: and I asked the priest whether he did affirm that that was a created, natural, made light, which John, a man that was sent from God, did bear witness to, and did speak of, when he said, "In him (to wit, in the word) was life, and that life was the light of men." John i. 4. 'Dost thou affirm and mean,' said I, 'that this light here spoken of, was a created, natural, made light?' And he said, 'Yes.' 'Then,' said I, 'before I have done with thee, I will make thee bend to the scriptures.' Then I shewed by the scriptures, that the natural, created, made light is the outward light in the outward firmament, proceeding from the sun, moon and stars. 'And dost thou affirm,' said I, 'that God sent John to bear witness to the light of the sun, moon and stars?' Then said he, 'Did I say so?' I replied, 'Didst thou not say it was a natural, created, made light, that John bore witness unto? If thou dost not like thy words, take them again and mend them.' Then he said, 'That light which I spake of, was a natural, created light.' I told him, he had not at all mended his cause; for that light which I spake of was the very same that John was sent of God to bear witness to, which was the life in the word, by which all the natural lights, as sun, moon and stars were made. "In him (to wit, the word) was life, and that life was the light of men." So I directed the people to turn to the place in their bibles, and I recited to them the words of John, how that "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. The same was in the beginning with God: all things

were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made. (So all natural, created lights were made by Christ the word.) In him was life, and the life was the light of men : and that was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." And Christ saith of himself (John viii. 12.) " I am the light of the world : " and bids them believe in the light, (John xii. 36.) And God said of him by the prophet Isaiah (chap. xlix. 6.) " I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation to the ends of the earth." So Christ in his light is saving. And the apostle said, " The light, which shined in their hearts, was to give them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ : " and that was their treasure in their earthen vessels." 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7.

When I had thus opened the matter to the people, the priest cried to the magistrates, ' Take this man away, or else I shall not speak any more. ' But, said I, ' Priest Tombs, deceive not thyself, thou art not in thy pulpit now, nor in thy old mass-house ; but we are in the fields.' So he was shuffling to be gone : and Thomas Taylor stood up, and undertook to make out our principle by Christ's parable concerning the sower, Matth. xiii. Then said the priest, ' Let that man speak, and not the other.' So he got up into a little jangling for a while ; till the Lord's power caught him again, and stopped and confounded him. Afterwards a friend stood up and told him how he had sued him for tithe eggs, and other friends for other tithes : for he was an anabaptist preacher, and yet had a parsonage at Leominster ; and had several journeymen under him. And he said he had a wife, and he had a concubine ; and his wife was the baptized people, and his concubine was the world. But the Lord's power came over him and them all, and the everlasting truth was declared that day ; and many were turned by it to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and way to God : and of great service that meeting was in those parts. The next day Thomas Taylor went to this priest, and reasoned with him ; and came over him by the power of the word.

From this place I travelled on in Wales, having several meetings as I went, till I came to Tenby ; where, as I rode up the street, a justice of peace came out of his house, and desired me to alight, and stay at his house ; and I did so. On the first-day the mayor and his wife, and several others of the chief of the town came in about the tenth hour, and stayed all the time of the meeting : and a glorious meeting it was. John-ap-John being then with me, left the meet-

ing, and went to the steeple-house; and the governor cast him into prison. On the second-day morning the governor sent one of his officers to the justice's house to fetch me: which grieved the mayor and the justice; for they were both with me in the justice's house when the officer came. So the mayor and the justice went up to the governor before me, and a while after I went up with the officer. When I came in I said, 'Peace be unto this house;' and before the governor could examine me, I asked him why he did cast my friend into prison; he said, 'For standing with his hat on in the church.' I said, 'Had not the priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? and cut off the brims of the hat, and then my friend would have but one, and the brims of the hat were but to defend him from weather.' 'These are frivolous things,' said the governor; 'Why then,' said I, 'dost thou cast my friend into prison for such frivolous things?' Then he asked me whether I owned election and reprobation, 'Yes,' said I, 'and thou art in the reprobation.' At that he was in a rage, and said he would send me to prison till I proved it; but I told him I would prove that quickly, if he would confess truth. Then I asked him whether wrath, fury, and rage, and persecution, were not marks of reprobation; for he that was born of the flesh, persecuted him that was born of the Spirit; but Christ and his disciples never persecuted nor imprisoned any. Then he fairly confessed that he had too much wrath, haste, and passion in him. And I told him Esau was up in him, the first birth, not Jacob, the second birth. The Lord's power so reached the man, and came over him, that he confessed to truth; and the other justice came, and shook me kindly by the hand.

As I was passing away, I was moved to speak to the governor again, and he invited me to dinner with him, and set my friend at liberty. I went back to the other justice's house; and after some time the mayor and his wife, and the justice and his wife, and divers other friends of the town went about half a mile out of town with us, to the water-side, when we went away; and there, when we parted from them, I was moved of the Lord to kneel down with them, and pray to the Lord to preserve them. So after I had recommended them to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and free teacher, we passed away in the Lord's power, and the Lord had the glory; and there is a meeting continues in that town to this day.

So we travelled through the country to Pembroke-shire, and in Pembroke town we had some service for the Lord.

From thence we passed to Haverford-west, where we had a great meeting, and all was quiet, and the Lord's power came over all, and many were settled in the new covenant, Christ Jesus, and built upon him, their rock and foundation; and they stand a precious meeting to this day. The next day, being their fair-day, we passed through their fair, and sounded the day of the Lord, and his everlasting truth amongst them.

After this we came into another county, and at noon came into a great market-town, and went into several inns before we could get any meat for our horses. At last we came to an inn where we did get some meat for our horses, and then John-ap-John being with me, went and spake through the town, declaring the truth to the people; and when he came to me again, said he thought all the town was as people asleep. After a while he was moved to go and declare truth in the streets again, and then the town was all in an uproar, and cast him into prison. Presently after several of the chief of the town came down, with others, to the inn where I was, and said, 'They have cast your man into prison.' 'For what?' said I; 'He preached in our streets,' said they. Then I asked them, 'What did he say? had he reproved some of the drunkards and swearers, and warned them to repent, and leave off their evil doings, and turn to the Lord?' I asked them who cast him into prison? and they said, the high-sheriff, and justices, and the mayor. I asked the names of them, and whether they did understand themselves? and whether that was their carriage to travellers that passed through their town, and to strangers that did admonish them, and exhort them to fear the Lord, and reprove sin in their gates? So these went back and told the officers what I said; and after a while they brought down John-ap-John guarded with halberds, to the inn-door, in order to put him out of the town. I being at the inn door, bid the officers take their hands off of him. They said, the mayor and justices had commanded them to put him out of town. I told them I would talk with their mayor and justices anon, concerning their uncivil and unchristian carriage towards him. So I spake to John to go look after the horses, and get them ready, and charged the officers not to touch him. And after I had declared the truth to them, and shewed them the fruits of their priests, and their incivility and unchristian-like carriage, they went away and left us. They were a kind of Independents, but a very wicked town, and false. We bid the inn-keeper give our horses a peck of oats, and no sooner had we turned our backs, but the oats were stolen from our horses. After we had refreshed ourselves a little, and

were ready, we took horse, and rode up to the inn, where the mayor, and sheriff, and justices were. And I called to speak with them, and asked them the reason wherefore they had imprisoned John-ap-John, and kept him in prison two or three hours? But they would not answer me a word, only looked out at the windows upon me. So I shewed them how unchristian their carriage was to strangers and travellers, and manifested the fruits of their teachers; and I declared the truth unto them, and warned them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all the evil-doers: and the Lord's power came over them, that they looked ashamed; but not a word could I get from them in answer. So when I had warned them to repent, and turn to the Lord, we passed away; and at night came to a little inn, very poor, but very cheap, for our own provision and our two horses, cost but eight-pence; but the horses would not eat their oats. We declared the truth to the people of the place, and sounded the day of the Lord through the countries.

Travelling from thence, we came to a great town, and went to an inn. And Edward Edwards went into the market, and declared the truth amongst the people; and the people followed him down to the inn, and filled the inn-yard, and were exceeding rude; yet a good service he and we had for the Lord amongst them; for the life of Christianity and the power of it tormented their chaffy spirits, and came over them, so that some were reached and convinced, and the Lord's power came over all; and the magistrates were bound, they had no power to meddle with us.

After this we passed away, and came to another great town on a market-day; and John-ap-John declared the everlasting power through the streets, and proclaimed the day of the Lord amongst them. In the evening many people gathered about the inn, and some of them being drunk, they would fain have had us forth into the street again, but we seeing their design, I told them, if there were any that feared God, and desired to hear the truth, they might come into our inn, or else we might have a meeting with them next morning. So some service for the Lord we had amongst them, both over night and in the morning; and though the people were hard to receive the truth, yet the seed was sown; and thereabouts the Lord hath a people gathered to himself. In that inn also I turned but my back to the man that was giving oats to my horse, and I looked back again, and he was filling his pockets with the provender that was given to my horse. A wretched, thievish

people, to rob the poor dumb creature of his food. I had rather they had robbed me.

Leaving this town and travelling on, there was a great man overtook us on the way, and he purposed (as he told us afterward) to have taken us up at the next town for highwaymen. But before we came to the town, I was moved of the Lord to speak to him, and what I spake reached to the witness of God in the man, and he was so affected therewith, that he had us to his house, and entertained us very civilly. And he and his wife desired us to give them some scriptures, both for proof of our principles and against the priests. We were glad of the service, and furnished them with scriptures enough; and he writ them down, and was convinced of the truth, both by the Spirit of God in his own heart, and by the scriptures, which were a confirmation to him. Afterwards he set us on in our journey, and as we travelled we came to an hill, which the people of the country say is two or three miles high; from the side of this hill I could see a great way. And I was moved to set my face several ways, and to sound the day of the Lord there; and I told John-ap-John (a faithful Welch minister) in what places God would raise up a people to himself, to sit under his own teaching. Those places he took notice of, and since there hath a great people arisen in those places. The like I have been moved to do in many other places and countries which have been rude places; and yet I have been moved to declare the Lord had a seed in those places, and afterwards there hath been a brave people raised up in the covenant of God, and gathered in the name of Jesus, where they have salvation and free teaching.

From this hill we came down to a place called Dalgelthly, and we went to an inn, and John-ap-John declared through the streets, and the town's-people rose and gathered about him. And there being two Independent priests in the town, they both came out and discoursed with him both together. I went up to them, and finding them speaking in Welch, I asked them what was the subject they spake upon, and why they were not more moderate, and speak one by one? for the things of God, I told them, were weighty, and they should speak of them with fear and reverence. Then I desired them to speak in English, that I might discourse with them, and they did so. Now they affirmed, that the light which John came to bear witness of, was a created, natural, made light. But I took the bible, and shewed them (as I had done to others before) that the natural lights, which were made and cre-

ated, were the sun, moon, and stars; but this light, which John bare witness to, and which he called the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, is the life in Christ the Word, by which all things were made and created. The same that is called the life in Christ, is called the light in man; and this is an heavenly, divine light, which lets men see their evil words and deeds, and shews them all their sins; and (if they would attend unto it) would bring them to Christ (from whom it comes) that they might know him to save them from their sin, and to blot it out. This light, I told them, shined in the darkness of their hearts, and the darkness in them could not comprehend it; but in those hearts where God had commanded it to shine out of darkness, it gave unto such the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Christ Jesus their Saviour. Then I opened the scriptures largely to them, and turned them to the Spirit of God in their hearts, which would reveal the mysteries in the scriptures to them, and would lead them into all the truth thereof, as they became subject thereunto. I directed them to that which would give every one of them the knowledge of Christ, who died for them, that he might be their way to God, and might make peace betwixt God and them. The people were attentive, and I spake to John-ap-John to stand up and speak it in Welch to them, which he did, and they generally received it, and with hands lifted up blessed and praised God. The priests' mouths were stopped, so that they were quiet all the while, for I had brought them to be sober at the first, by telling them that when they speak of the things of God and of Christ, they should speak with fear and reverence. Thus the meeting brake up in peace in the street, and many of the people accompanied us to our inn, and rejoiced in the truth that had been declared unto them, that they were turned to the light and spirit in themselves, by which they might see their sin, and know salvation from it. And when we went out of the town the people were so affected, that they lifted up their hands, and blessed the Lord for our coming. A precious seed the Lord hath thereaways, and a great prople in those parts is since gathered to the Lord Jesus Christ, to sit down under his free teaching, and have suffered much for him.

From this place we passed to a city like a castle; where when we had set up our horses at an inn, and refreshed ourselves, John-ap-John went forth, and spake through the streets; which were so strait and short, that one might stand in the midst of the town and see both the gates. I

followed John-ap-John, and a multitude of people were soon gathered about him; amongst whom a very dark priest began to babble; but his mouth was soon stopped. So when John had cleared himself, I declared the word of life amongst the people; directing them to the light of Christ in their hearts, that by it they might see all their own ways, religions and teachers, and might come off from them all, to Christ, the true and living way, and the free teacher. Some of the people were rude, but the greater part were civil, and told us they had heard how we had been persecuted and abused in many places, but they would not do so to us there. I commended their moderation and sobriety, and warned them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon all sin and wickedness; testifying unto them, that Christ was now come to teach his people himself, by his spirit and by his power.

From hence we went to Beaumauris; a town wherein John-ap-John had formerly been preacher to a congregation. After we had put up our horses at an inn, John went forth, and spake through the street; and there being a garrison in the town, they took him and put him into prison. The innkeeper's wife came and told me that the governor and magistrates were sending for me to send me to prison also: I told her they had done more than they could answer already; and had acted contrary to Christianity in imprisoning him for reprovng sin in their streets and gates, and for declaring the truth. Soon after came other friendly people, and told me if I went out into the street they would imprison me also, and therefore they desired me to keep within the inn. Upon this I was moved to go and walk up and down the streets; and told the people what an uncivil and unchristian thing they had done in casting my friend into prison. And, they being high professors, I asked them if this was the entertainment they had for strangers; and if they would willingly be so served themselves; and whether they, who looked upon the scriptures to be their rule, had any example in the scriptures from Christ or his apostles for what they had done. So after a while they set John-ap-John at liberty again.

Next day, being market-day, we were to cross over a great water: and not far from the place where we were to take boat, many of the market-people drew to us; amongst whom we had good service for the Lord, declaring the word of life and everlasting truth unto them, and proclaiming the day of the Lord amongst them, which was coming upon all wickedness; and directing them to the

light of Christ, which he, the heavenly man, had enlightened them withal; by which they might see all their sins, and all their false ways, religions, worships, and teachers: and by the same light might see Christ Jesus, who was come to save them, and lead them to God. So after the Lord's truth had been declared to them in the power of God, and Christ the free teacher set over all the hireling teachers, I bid John-ap-John get his horse into the boat, which was then ready. But there being a company of wild gentlemen (as they called them) got into it (whom we found very rude, and far from gentleness,) they, with others, kept his horse out of the boat. So I rode to the boat's side and spake to them, shewing them what an unmanly and unchristian carriage it was; and told them they shewed an unworthy spirit, below Christianity or humanity. As I spake unto them, I leaped my horse into the boat amongst them, thinking John's horse would have followed, when he had seen mine go in before him; but the water being pretty deep, John could not get his horse into the boat. Wherefore I leaped out again on horseback into the water, and staid with John on that side till the boat returned. There we tarried from the eleventh hour of the forenoon to the second in the afternoon, before the boat came to fetch us; and then had we forty and two miles to ride that evening: and by that time we had paid for our passage, we had but one groat left between us in money. We rode about sixteen miles, and then got a little hay for our horses; and setting forward again, we came in the night to a little ale-house, where we thought to have staid and baited; but finding we could have neither oats nor hay there, we travelled on all night; and about the fifth hour in the morning got to a place within six miles of Wrexham; where that day we met with many friends, and had a glorious meeting; and the Lord's everlasting power and truth was over all: and a meeting is continued there to this day. Very weary we were with travelling so hard up and down in Wales; and in many places we found it difficult to get meat either for our horses or ourselves.

The next day we passed from thence into Flintshire, sounding the day of the Lord through the towns; and came into Wrexham at night. Here many of Floyd's people came to us; but very rude, wild and airy they were, and little sense of truth they had: yet some were convinced in that town. Next morning one called a lady sent for me, who kept a preacher in her house. I went to her house, but found both her and her preacher very light and airy; too light to receive the weighty things of God. In her light,

ness she came and asked me if she should cut my hair : but I was moved to reprove her, and bid her cut down the corruptions in herself with the sword of the spirit of God. So after I had admonished her to be more grave and sober, we passed away : and afterwards in her frothy mind she made her boast that she came behind me and cut off the curl of my hair ; but she spake falsely.

From Wrexham we came through the country to West Chester ; and it being the fair time, we stayed there a while and visited friends. For I had travelled through every county in Wales, preaching the everlasting gospel of Christ ; and a brave people there is now, which hath received it, and sitteth under Christ's teaching. But before I left Wales, I writ a paper to the magistrates of Beaumauris concerning the imprisoning of John-ap-John ; letting them see their conditions, and the fruits of their Christianity, and of their teachers : and afterwards I met with some of them near London ; but oh ! how ashamed they were of their action !

From West Chester we came through the country to Liverpool, where was at that time a fair also. And as I rode through the fair, there stood a friend upon the cross, declaring the truth to the people : who seeing me ride by, and knowing I had appointed a meeting to be the next day upon an hill not far off, gave notice to the people that George Fox, the servant of the Lord, would have a meeting next day upon such an hill ; and if any feared the Lord, they might come there and hear him declare the word of life to them. We went that night to Richard Cubban's, who himself was convinced, but not his wife ; but at that time his wife was convinced also.

Next day we went to the meeting on the top of the hill, which was very large : and some rude people with a priest's wife came, and made a noise for a while ; but the Lord's power came over them, and the meeting became quiet, and the truth of God was declared amongst them : and many were that day settled upon the rock and foundation Christ Jesus, and under his teaching ; who made peace betwixt God and them.

We had a small meeting, with a few friends and people, at Malpoth. And from thence we came to another place, where we had another meeting ; and there came a bailiff with a sword, and was rude : but the Lord's power came over him ; and friends were established in the truth.

From thence we came to Manchester : and the sessions being there that day, many rude people were come to the town out of the country. In the meeting they threw at me

coals, and clods, and stones, and water: yet the Lord's power bore me up over them, that they could not strike me down. At last, when they saw they could not prevail by throwing water, stones and dirt at me, they went and informed the justices in the sessions; who thereupon sent officers to fetch me before them. The officers came in while I was declaring the word of life to the people; and they plucked me down, and haled me up into their court. When I came there, all the court was in a disorder and a noise; wherefore I asked where were the magistrates that they did not keep the people civil. Some of the justices said they were magistrates. I asked them why then they did not appease the people, and keep them sober: for one cried 'I'll swear', and another cried 'I'll swear.' So I declared to the justices how we were abused in our meeting by the rude people, who threw stones, and clods, and dirt, and water; and how I was haled out of the meeting, and brought thither, contrary to the instrument of government, which said none should be molested in their meetings that professed God and owned the Lord Jesus Christ; which I did. So the truth came over them, that when one of the rude fellows cried he would swear, one of the justices checked him, saying, 'What will you swear? hold your tongue.' At last they bid the constable have me to my lodging; and there I should be secured till to-morrow morning, that they sent for me again. So the constable had me to my lodging; and as we went the people were exceeding rude; but I let them see the fruits of their teachers, and how they shamed Christianity, and dishonoured the name of Jesus, which they professed. At night we went to a justice's house in the town, who was pretty moderate; and I had a great deal of discourse with him. Next morning we sent to the constable to know if he had any thing more to say to us. And he sent us word he had nothing to say to us, but that we might go whither we would. The Lord hath since raised up a people to stand for his name and truth in that town over those chaffy professors.

We passed from Manchester through the country, having many precious meetings in several places, till we came to Preston; between which and Lancaster I had a general meeting: from which I went to Lancaster. There at our inn I met with colonel West, who was very glad to see me: and he meeting with judge Fell, told him that I was mightily grown in the truth; when as indeed he was come nearer to the truth, and so could better discern it.

We came from Lancaster to Robert Widders: and on

the first-day after I had a general meeting near the Sandside, of friends of Westmoreland and Lancashire, where the Lord's everlasting power was over all; in which the word of eternal life was declared, and friends were settled upon the foundation, Christ Jesus, under his free teaching; and many were convinced, and turned to the Lord.

Next day I came over the Sands to Swarthmore, where friends were glad to see me: and I stayed there two first-days, visiting friends in their meetings there-aways; who rejoiced with me in the goodness of the Lord, who by his eternal power had carried me through, and over many difficulties and dangers in his service: to him be the praise for ever!

Having gotten a little respite from travel, I was moved to write an epistle to friends, as followeth:

‘ All friends of the Lord every where, whose minds are turned in towards the Lord, take heed and hearken to the light within you, which is the light of Christ; which, as ye love it, will call your minds inward, that are abroad in the creatures: so your minds may be renewed by it, and turned to God in this which is pure, to worship the living God, the Lord of Hosts over all the creatures. That which calls your minds out of the lusts of the world, it will call them out of the affections and desires, and turn you to set your affections above. The same that calls the mind out of the world, will give judgment upon the world's affections and lusts, that which calls out your minds from the world's teachers, and the creatures; and so to have your minds renewed. There is your obedience known and found, and there the image of God is renewed in you; and ye come to grow up in it. That which calls your minds out of the earth, turns them towards God, where the pure babe is born of the virgin; and the babe's food is known, the children's bread, which comes from the living God, and nourishes up to eternal life: which babes and children receive their wisdom from above, from the pure living God, and out from the earthly ones; for that is trodden under foot with such. And all who hate this light, whose minds are abroad in the creatures, in the earth, and in the image of the devil get the words of the saints (that received their wisdom from above) into the old nature, and their corrupted minds: such are they that are murderers of the just, enemies to the cross of Christ, in whom the prince of the air lodgeth: sons of perdition, betrayers of the just. Therefore take heed to that light, which is oppressed with that nature; which light, as it arises, shall condemn all

that cursed nature, and shall turn it out, and shut it out of the house : and so ye will come to see the candle lighted, and the house sweeping and swept. Then afterward the pure pearl ariseth ; and then the eternal God is exalted. The same light that calls in your minds out of the world (that are abroad) the same turns them to God, the Father of lights. Here in the pure mind is the pure God waited upon for wisdom from above ; and the pure God is seen night and day, and the eternal peace, of which there is no end, enjoyed. People may have openings, and yet their minds go into the lusts of the flesh ; but there the affections are not mortified. Therefore hearken to that, and take heed to that, which calls your minds out of the affections and lusts of the world, to have them renewed : the same will turn your minds to God ; the same light will set your affections above, and bring you to wait for the pure wisdom of God from on high, that it may be justified in you. Wait all in that, which calls in your minds, and turns them to God ; here is the true cross : that mind shall feed upon nothing that is earthly ; but be kept in the pure light of God up to God, to feed upon the living food, which comes from the living God. So the Lord God Almighty be with you all, dear babes, and keep you all in his strength and power to his glory, over all the world, ye whose minds are called out of it, and turned to God, to worship the Creator, and serve him, and not the creature. And the light of God, which calls the mind out of the creatures, and turns it to God, brings into a being of endless joy and peace : and here is alway a seeing God present, which is not known to the world, whose minds are in the creatures, whose knowledge is in the flesh, whose minds are not renewed. Therefore all friends, the seed of God mind and dwell in, to reign over the unjust : and the power of the Lord dwell in, to keep you clear in your understandings, that the seed of God may reign in you all ; the seed of God, which is but one in all, which is Christ in the male and in the female, which the promise is to. Wait upon the Lord for the just to reign over the unjust, and for the seed of God to reign over the seed of the serpent, and be the head ; and all that is mortal may die ; for out of that will rise presumption. So fare ye well, and God Almighty bless, and guide, and keep you in his wisdom.'

G. F.

About this time friends, that were moved of the Lord to go to the steeple-houses and markets, to reprove sin, and warn people of the day of the Lord, suffered much hard-

ship from the rude people, and also from the magistrates; being commonly pulled down, buffeted and beaten, and many times sent to prison. Wherefore I was moved to give forth the following paper, to be spread abroad amongst people, to shew them how contrary they acted therein to the apostles' doctrine and practice, and to bring them to more moderation. Thus it was:

‘ Is it not better for you, that have cast into prison the servants and children of the Lord God, for speaking as they are moved in steeple-houses or markets? Is it not better, I say, for you to try all things, and hold fast that which is good? Is it not of more honour and credit, to prove all things, and try all things, than to pluck down in the steeple-houses, and pull off the hair of their heads, and cast them into prison? Is this an honour to your truth and gospel your profess? Doth it not shew that ye be out of truth, and are not they that are ready to instruct the gainsayers? Hath not the Lord said, “ He will pour out of his Spirit upon all flesh, and his sons and his daughters shall prophesy, and old men shall dream dreams, and young men see visions, and on his handmaids he will pour forth of his Spirit?” Was not this prophesy in ages past stood against by the wise, learned men in their own wisdom, and by the synagogue teachers? And were not such haled out of the synagogues and temple, who witnessed the Spirit poured forth upon them? Doth not this shew, that ye have not received the pourings forth of this Spirit upon you, who fill the jails with so many sons and daughters, and hold up such teachers as are bred up in learning at Oxford and Cambridge, and are made by the will of man? Doth not this shew, that ye, that are bred up there, and are made teachers by the will of man, and do persecute for prophesying, are strangers to the Spirit that is poured forth upon sons and daughters, by which Spirit they come to minister to the spirits that are in prison? The Lord hath a controversy with you, who are found prisoning and persecuting such as the Lord hath poured forth of his Spirit upon. Do not all your fruits shew, in all the nation where ye come, in towns, cities, villages and countries, that ye are the seedsmen made by the will of man, who to the flesh do sow, of which nothing but corruption is reaped in nations, countries, cities and villages? Ye are looked upon, and your fruits, and that which may be gathered, is seen by all that be in the light, as they pass through your countries, towns, cities and villages, that ye are all the seedsmen that have sown to the

flesh. Mark, and of this take ye notice, who are of that birth, that is born of the flesh, and so ye sow to your own, persecuting him that is born of the Spirit, who sows to the Spirit, and of the Spirit reaps life eternal; such ye, who sow to the flesh, cast into prison. Do ye not hale out of the synagogues, and persecute and beat in the synagogues, and knock down? Are not these the workers of the flesh? Have not many been almost murdered and smothered in your synagogues? And have not some been haled out of your synagogues, for but looking at the priest, and after cast into prison? Doth not all this make manifest what spirit ye are of, and your fruits to be of the flesh? What pleasures and sports in every town are to be seen among your flocks that sow to the flesh, and are born of it! Whereas the ministers of the Spirit cried against such, as sported in the day-time; and such as ate and drank, and rose up to play; and such, as lived wantonly upon earth in pleasures; and such, as lived in fulness of bread and idleness; such as defile the flesh: such did God overthrow and destroy, and set them forth as examples to all them that after should live ungodly. But are not the fruits of this reaped in every town? Cannot we from hence see, that here is sowing to the flesh? Again, what scorning, scoffing, mocking, derision and strife! What oaths, drunkenness, uncleanness and cursed speaking! What lust and pride is seen in the streets! These fruits we see are reaped of the flesh. So here we see the seedsman, him that sows to this flesh, of which nothing but corruption is reaped; as the countries, towns, cities and villages make manifest. But the ministers of the Spirit, who sow to the Spirit, come to reap eternal life; these discern the other seedsman, who sows to the flesh, and of the flesh reaps corruption. For the day hath manifested each seedsman, and what is reaped from each is seen; glory be to the Lord God for ever! The ministers of the Spirit, which be born of the Spirit, sons and daughters, which have the Spirit poured forth upon them, and witness the promise of God fulfilled in them, by the Spirit of God preach and minister to the Spirit in prison in every one, in the sight of God, the Father of Spirits. God's hand is turned against you all, that have destroyed God's creatures upon your lust; and God's hand is turned against you that have wronged by unjust dealing, and defrauded, and have oppressed the poor, and have respected the persons of the proud, (such as be in gay apparel); and lend not your ear to the cry of the poor. The Lord's hand and arm against you all is turned, and his righteous judgment and justice upon you

all will be accomplished and repaid; who shall have a reward every one according to his works. Oh the abomination and hypocritical profession that is upon the earth, where God and Christ, Faith, Hope, the Holy Spirit, and truth is professed; but the fear of God, and the faith that purifies and gives victory over the world, not lived in! Doth it not appear, that the wisdom that rules in all those, whom the seedsman that sows to the flesh, sows for, and who are born of the flesh, is from below, earthly, sensual, and devilish, and their understanding brutish, and their knowledge natural as the brute beasts? For men and women in that state have not patience to speak one to the other of the scriptures, without much corruption and flesh appearing, yet they have a feigned humility, a will-worship, and righteousness of self; but they own not the light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, Christ Jesus, the righteousness of God; which light being owned, self, and the righteousness of self comes to be denied. Here is the humility that is contrary to the light, and that is below and feigned: here is the wisdom that is from below, earthly, sensual, and devilish; for people can scarce speak one to another, without destroying one another, prisoning and persecuting one another, when they speak of the scriptures. Now, this is the devilish wisdom, murdering and destroying: this is not the wisdom that is from above, which is pure and peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits. Here all may read each seedsman, which hath each wisdom: he that sows to the flesh, and is born of that, hath the wisdom that is earthly, sensual, and devilish; he that sows to the Spirit, a minister of the Spirit, hath the wisdom from above, which is pure, which is peaceable, which is gentle, which is easy to be intreated; the wisdom by which all things were made and created. Now is each wisdom discovered, and each seedsman; the day, which is the light, hath discovered them.' G. F.

As the foregoing paper was sent forth amongst the world's people, to let them see from whence their imprisoning and persecuting, cruelty and violent dealing sprang; so I was also moved to give forth the following epistle to friends, to stir them up to be bold and valiant for the truth, and to encourage them in their sufferings for it.

'All friends and brethren every where, now is the day of your trial, and now is the time for you to be valiant,

and to see that the testimony of the Lord doth not fall; for now is the day of exercise of your gifts, of your patience, and of your faith: now is the time to be armed with patience, with the light and with righteousness, and with the helmet of salvation: and now is the trial of the slothful servant, who hides his talent, and will judge Christ hard. Now, happy are they that can say, the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and he gives the increase; and therefore, who takes it from you? Is it not the Lord still that suffers it? For the Lord can try you as he did Job, whom he made rich, whom he made poor, and whom he made rich again; who still kept his integrity in all conditions. So learn Paul's lesson, in all states to be content; and have his faith, that nothing is able to separate us from the love of God, which we have in Christ Jesus. Therefore be rich in life and in grace, which will endure, ye who are heirs of life and born of the womb of eternity, that noble birth, that cannot stoop to that, that is born in sin and conceived in iniquity, who are better bred and born; whose religion is from God, above all the religions that are from below, and who walk by faith, by that which God hath given you, and not by that which men make, who walk by sight, from the mass-book to the directory: such are subject to stumble and fall, who walk by sight and not by faith. Therefore mind him that destroys the original of sin, the devil and his works, and cuts off the entail of Satan, viz. sin; who would have by entail an inheritance of sin in men and women from generation to generation, and pleads for it by all his lawyers and counsellors. For though the law did not cut it off, which made nothing perfect; yet Christ being come destroys the devil and his works, and cuts off the entail of sin; this angers all the devil's lawyers and counsellors, that Satan shall not hold sin by entail in thy garden, in thy field, in thy temple, thy tabernacle. So keep your tabernacles, that there ye may see the glory of the Lord appear at the doors thereof. And be faithful; for ye see, what the worthies and valiants of the Lord did attain unto by faith. Enoch by faith was translated: Noah by faith was preserved over the waters in his ark: Abraham by faith forsook his father's house and religion, and all the religions of the world: Isaac and Jacob by faith followed his steps. And see how Samuel, with other of the Lord's prophets, with David, by faith were preserved to God, over God's enemies! And Daniel and the three children by faith escaped the lions and the fire, and preserved their worship clean, and by it were kept over the worships of the world.

And the apostles by faith travelled up and down the world, and were preserved from all the religions of the world, and held forth the pure religion to the dark world, which they had received from above, from God (for the way they walked in, and the worship they performed and taught, was received from above, from God and from Christ Jesus), and likewise their fellowship was received from above, which is in the gospel that is everlasting. And in this neither powers, principalities, nor thrones, dominions nor angels, nor things present, nor things to come, nor heights, nor depths, nor death, mockings, nor spoiling of goods, nor prisons, nor fetters, were able to separate them from the love of God, which they had in Christ Jesus. And friends, quench not the Spirit, nor despise prophesying where it moves; neither hinder the babes and sucklings from crying Hosannah; for out of their mouths will God ordain strength. There were some in Christ's day that were against such, whom he reproved; and there were some in Moses his day, who would have stopped the prophets in the camp, whom Moses reproved, and said in way of encouragement to them, 'Would God, that all the Lord's people were prophets!' So I say now to you. Therefore ye, that stop it in yourselves, do not quench it in others, neither in babe nor suckling; for the Lord hears the cries of the needy, and the sighs and groans of the poor. Judge not that, nor the sighs and groans of the Spirit, which cannot be uttered, lest ye judge prayer; for prayer as well lies in sighs and groans to the Lord as otherwise. So let not the sons and daughters, nor the hand-maidens be stopped in their prophesyings, nor the young men in their visions, nor the old men in their dreams; but let the Lord be glorified in and through all, who is over all, God blessed for ever! So that every one may improve their talents, and every one exercise their gifts; and every one speak as the Spirit gives them utterance. Thus every one may minister as he hath received the grace, as a good steward to him that hath given it him; so that all plants may bud and bring forth fruit to the glory of God; for the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every one to profit withal. So see, that every one hath profited in heavenly things: male and female, look into your own vineyards, and see what fruit ye bear to God; look into your own houses, see how they are decked and trimmed, and see what odours, myrrh and frankincense ye have therein, and what a smell and savour ye have to ascend to God, that he may be glorified. So bring your deeds all to the light, which ye are taught to believe

in by Christ, your Head, the heavenly Man, and see how they are wrought in God. And every male and female, let Christ dwell in your hearts by faith, (Christ in the male and in the female); and let your mouths be opened to the glory of God the Father, that he may rule and reign in you. We must not have Christ Jesus, the Lord of life, put any more in a stable, amongst the horses and asses; but he must now have the best chamber, the heart, and the rude debauched spirit must be turned out. Therefore let him reign, whose right it is, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, by which Holy Ghost ye call him Lord, in which Holy Ghost ye pray, and by which Holy Ghost ye have comfort and fellowship with the Son and with the Father. Therefore know the triumph in it, and in God and his power (which the devil is out of) and in the seed, which is first and last, the beginning and ending, the top and corner-stone; in which is my love to you, and in which I rest—

‘ Your friend, G. F.

‘ *Postscript*—And friends, be careful how ye set your feet among the tender plants, that are springing up out of God’s earth; lest ye do tread upon them, and hurt them, and bruise them, or crush them in God’s vineyard.’

Now after I had tarried two first-days at Swarthmore, and had visited friends in their meetings thereabouts, I passed from thence into Westmoreland, visiting friends’ meetings there, till I came to John Audland’s, where there was a general meeting. The night before I had a vision of a desperate creature, that was coming to destroy me, but I got victory over it. And the next day in the meeting time there came one Otway, with some rude fellows with him; and he rode round about the meeting with his sword or rapier, and would fain have gotten in through the friends to me; but the meeting being great, the friends stood thick, so that he could not easily come at me. Then when he had rid about several times raging, and found he could not get in, being limited by the Lord’s power, he at length went away. It was a glorious meeting, and ended peaceably; and the Lord’s everlasting power came over all. But this wild man went home and became distracted, and not long after died. I sent a paper to John Blaykling to read to him, while he lay ill, shewing him his wickedness; and he did acknowledge something of it.

Going from hence, I went through Kendal, where a warrant had long lain to apprehend me; and the constables

seeing me, ran to fetch their warrant, as I was riding through the town; but before they could come with it, I was gone past the town, and so escaped their hands.

I travelled on northwards, visiting friends' meetings as I went, till I came to Strickland-head, where I had a great meeting: and most of the gentry of that country being gathered to an horse-race, not far off from the meeting, I was moved to go and declare the truth unto them; and a chief-constable, that was there, did also admonish them. Our meeting was quiet, and the Lord was with us; and by his word and power friends were settled in the eternal truth.

From hence we passed into Cumberland, where we had many precious living meetings: and after we had travelled through to Gillsland, and had a meeting there, we came to Carlisle, where they had used to put friends out of the town; but there came a great flood while we were there, that they could not put us out of the town, so we had a meeting there on the first-day. After which we passed through the country to Abby-holm, and had a little meeting there. This is a place, where I told friends long before, there would a great people come forth to the Lord; which hath since come to pass, and a large meeting there is gathered to the Lord in those parts.

I passed from hence to a general meeting at Langlands in Cumberland, which was very large; for most of the people had so forsaken the priests, that the steeple-houses in some places stood empty. And John Wilkinson, a preacher, that I have often named before, who had three steeple-houses, had so few hearers left, that giving over preaching in the steeple-houses, he first set up a meeting in his house, and preached there to them that were left. Afterwards he set up a silent meeting (like friends), to which came a few; for most of his hearers were come off to friends: thus he held on till he had not past half a dozen left, the rest still forsaking him, and coming away to friends. At last, when he had so very few left, he would come to Pardsey Crag (where friends had a meeting of several hundreds of people, who were all come to sit under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching,) and he would walk about the meeting on the first-days, like a man that went about the commons to look for sheep. Now during this time I came to this Pardsey Crag meeting, and he with three or four of his followers, that were yet left to him, came to the meeting that day, and they were all thoroughly convinced. After the meeting was done, priest Wilkinson asked me two or three questions, which I answered him to

his satisfaction: and from that time he came amongst friends to their meetings, and became an able minister, and preached the gospel freely, and turned many to Christ's free teaching. And after he had continued many years in the free ministry of Christ Jesus, he died in the truth.

I had for some time felt drawings on my spirit to go into Scotland, and had sent to one colonel William Osborn of Scotland, desiring him to come and meet me; and he, with some others with him, were come out of Scotland to this meeting. So after the meeting was over (which, he said, was the most glorious meeting that ever he saw in his life), I passed with him, and those others that were with him, into Scotland; having Robert Widders with me, who was a thundering man against hypocrisy and deceit, and the rottenness of the priests.

The first night we came into Scotland we lodged at an inn; and the innkeeper told us, there was an earl lived about a quarter of a mile off, who had a desire to see me, and had left word at his house, that if ever I came into Scotland he should send him word. He told us there were three draw-bridges to his house, and that it would be nine o'clock before the third bridge was drawn. So finding we had time in the evening, we walked down to his house. He received us very loving; and said he would have gone with us on our journey, but he was before engaged to go to a funeral. After we had spent some time with him, we parted very friendly, and returned to our inn. Next morning we travelled on, and passing through Dumfries we came to Douglas, where we met with some friends; and from thence we passed to the Heads, where we had a blessed meeting in the name of Jesus, and felt him in the midst.

Leaving Heads we went to Badcow, and had a meeting there, to which abundance of people came, and many were convinced; amongst whom there was one that was called a lady, convinced. From thence we passed towards the Highlands to William Osborn's house, where we gathered up the sufferings of friends, and the principles of the Scotch priests, which may be seen in a book called 'The Scotch Priests' Principles.'

Afterwards we came back again to Heads and Badcow, and Garshore, where the said lady Margaret Hambleton was convinced, who afterwards went to warn Oliver Cromwell and Charles Fleetwood of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them.

On the first-day we had a great meeting, and several professors came to it. Now, the priests had frightened the

people with the doctrine of election and reprobation, telling them that God had ordained the greatest part of men and women for hell, and that let them pray, or preach, or sing, and do what they could, it was all to no purpose, if they were ordained for hell. And that God had a certain number which were elected for heaven, and let them do what they would, as David an adulterer, and Paul a persecutor, yet elected vessels for heaven. So the fault was not at all in the creature, less or more, but God had ordained it so. Now I was led to open to the people the falseness and folly of their priests' doctrines, and shewed them how the priests had abused those scriptures, which they had brought and quoted to them, as in Jude and other places. For whereas they said, there was no fault at all in the creature, I shewed them that they whom Jude speaks of, to wit, Cain, Core and Balaam, who, he says, were ordained of old to condemnation, the fault was in them. For did not God warn Cain and Balaam, and gave a promise to Cain, if he did well he should be accepted? And did not the Lord bring Core out of Egypt and his company? And yet did not he gainsay both God and his law, and his prophet Moses? So here people might see that there was a fault in Cain, Corah, and Balaam, and so there is in all them that go in their ways. For if they who are called Christians, resist the gospel, as Core did the law, and err from the Spirit of God, as Balaam did, and if they do evil, as Cain did, is not here a fault? Which fault is in themselves, and is the cause of their reprobation, and not God. Doth not Christ say, 'Go, preach the gospel to all nations?' Which is the gospel of salvation. He would not have sent them out into all nations to preach the doctrine of salvation, if the greatest part of men had been ordained for hell. Was not Christ a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, for those that become reprobates, as well as for the saints? He died for all men, the ungodly as well as the godly, as the apostle bears witness, (2 Cor. v. 15. Rom. v. 6.) And he enlightens every man, that cometh into the world, that through him they might all believe. And Christ bids them believe in the light; but all they that hate the light, which Christ bids all believe in, they are reprobated. Again, the manifestation of the Spirit of God is given to every man to profit withal; but they that vex, quench, and grieve it, are in the reprobation, and the fault is in them, as it is also in them that hate his light. The apostle saith, "The grace of God which brings salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us (saith he) that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we

should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world," (Tit. ii. 11. 12.) Now all those men and women that live ungodly, and in the lusts of the world, that turn this grace of God into wantonness, and walk despitefully against it, and so deny God and the Lord Jesus Christ, that bought them; the fault is in all such that turn the grace into wantonness, and walk despitefully against that which would bring their salvation, and save them out of the reprobation. But the priests, it seems, can see no fault in such as deny God and the Lord Jesus Christ, that hath bought them, such as deny his light, which they should believe in, and his grace, which should teach them to live godly, and which should bring them their salvation. Now all that believe in the light of Christ, as he commands, are in the election, and sit under the teaching of the grace of God, which brings their salvation. But such as turn this grace into wantonness, are in the reprobation; and such as hate the light are in the condemnation. Therefore I exhorted all the people to believe in the light as Christ commands, and own the grace of God their free teacher, and it would assuredly bring them their salvation; for it is sufficient. Many other scriptures were opened concerning reprobation, and the people were opened to see, and a spring of life rose up among them.

These things soon came to the priests' ears; for the people that sate under their dark teachings, began to see light, and to come into the covenant of light. So the noise was spread over Scotland amongst the priests, that I was come thither, and a great cry was among them that all would be spoiled; for, they said, I had spoiled all the honest men and women in England already (so, upon their own account, the worst were left to them.) Upon this they gathered great assemblies of priests together, and drew up a company articles of curses to be read in their several steeple-houses, and that all the people should say amen to them. Some few of these I will here set down, the rest may be read in the book before-mentioned, of 'The Scotch Priests' Principles.'

The first was, Cursed is he that saith, every man hath a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation; and let all the people say, amen.

The second, Cursed is he that saith, faith is without sin; and let all the people say, amen.

The third, Cursed is he that denieth the sabbath-day; and let all the people say, amen.

In this last they make the people curse themselves, for on the sabbath-day (which is the seventh-day of the week,

which the Jews kept by the command of God to them) they kept markets and fairs, and so brought the curse of God upon their own heads.

And as to the first, concerning the light, Christ saith, believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light; and he that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth shall have everlasting life; he that believeth passes from death to life, and is grafted into Christ. And ye do well, said the apostle, that ye take heed unto the light that shines in the dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts. So the light is sufficient to lead unto the day-star.

And as concerning faith, it is the gift of God, and every gift of God is pure. The faith, which Christ is the author of, is precious, divine, and without sin; and this is the faith which gives victory over sin, and access to God, in which faith they please God. But they are reprobates themselves concerning this faith, and are in their dead faith, who charge sin upon this faith under pain of a curse; which faith gives victory over their curse, and returns it into their own bowels.

There were a company of Scots near Badcow, who challenged a dispute with some of our Scotch friends (for with me they would not dispute;) so some of the Scotch friends met them at the market-place. The dispute was to be concerning the sabbath-day, and some other of their principles before mentioned; and I having gotten their principles and assertions, shewed the friends where they might easily be overthrown, and a Scotch friend, a smith, overthrew them clearly.

There were two independent churches in Scotland, of which many were convinced; but the pastor of the other was in a great rage against truth and friends. They had their elders, who sometimes would exercise their gifts amongst the church-members, and would sometimes be pretty tender; but their pastor speaking so much against the light and us, who are the friends of Christ, he darkened his hearers, so that they grew dark, and blind, and dry, and lost their tenderness. And he continued preaching against friends, and against the light of Christ Jesus, calling it natural; at last one day in his preaching he cursed the light, and fell down, as if dead, in his pulpit. The people carried him out, and laid him upon a grave-stone, and poured strong waters into him, which fetched him to life again; and they carried him home, but he was mopish. After a while he stripped off his clothes and put on a Scotch plaid, and went into the country amongst the dairy-

women; and when he had staid there about two weeks, he came home, and went into the pulpit again. Whereupon the people expected some great manifestation or revelation from him; but instead thereof he began to tell them what entertainment he had met with, how one woman gave him skimmed milk, another gave him butter-milk, and another gave him good milk; so the people were fain to take him out of the pulpit again and carry him home. He that gave me this account was one Andrew Robinson, who was one of his chief hearers, and came afterwards to be convinced, and received the truth; and he said he never heard that he recovered his senses again. By this people may see the vengeance of God, which came upon him that cursed the light, which light was the life in Christ, the word; and it may be a warning to all others that speak evil against the light of Christ.

Now were the priests in such a rage, that they posted up to Edinburgh to Oliver Cromwell's council there, with petitions against me. And the noise was that all was gone; for several friends were come out of England and spread over Scotland, sounding the day of the Lord, and preaching the everlasting gospel of salvation, and turning people to Christ Jesus who died for them, that they might receive his free teaching. After I had gathered up the principles of the Scotch priests, and the sufferings of friends, and had seen the friends in that part of Scotland settled by the Lord's power, upon Christ their foundation, I went up to Edinburgh, and in the way came to Lithgow; where lodging at an inn, the innkeeper's wife, who was blind, received the word of life and came under the teaching of Christ Jesus, her Saviour. At night there came in abundance of soldiers and some officers, with whom we had much discourse, and some were rude; one of the officers said he would obey the Turk's or Pilate's command, if they should command him to guard Christ to crucify him. So far he was from all tenderness, or sense of the Spirit of Christ, that he would rather crucify the just, than suffer for or with the just, whereas many officers and magistrates have lost their places before they would turn against the Lord and his just one.

When I was come to Edinburgh, and had staid there awhile, I went from thence to Leith, where many officers of the army came in with their wives, and many were convinced. Among those that came, Edward Billing's wife was one; she brought a great deal of coral in her hand, and threw it on the table before me, to see whether I

would speak against it or no. I took no notice of it, but declared the truth to her, and she was reached. There came in many baptists also, who were very rude, but the Lord's power came over them, so that they went away confounded. Then there came in another sort, and one of them said he would dispute with me; and for argument sake, would deny there was a God. I told him, he was one of those fools that said in his heart, there is no God, but he should know him in the day of his judgment. So he went his way; and a fine precious time we had afterwards with several people of account, and the Lord's power came over all. William Osburn was with me; and colonel Lidcot's wife and William Welch's wife, and several of the officers themselves also that were there, were convinced at that time. Now Edward Billing and his wife were at that time separated and lived apart, and she being reached by truth, and become loving to friends, we sent for her husband, and he came; and the Lord's power reached unto them both, and they joined together in it, and agreed to live together in love and unity as man and wife.

After this we went back to Edinburgh again, where many thousands of people were gathered together, with abundance of priests among them, about burning of a witch, and I was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them. Which, when I had done, I went from thence to our meeting, whither many rude people and baptists came. The baptists began to vaunt with their logick and syllogisms, but I was moved in the Lord's power to thresh their chaffy, light minds, and shewed the people that, after that fallacious way of discoursing, they might make white seem black, and black seem white; as, that because a cock had two legs, and each of them had two legs, therefore they were all cocks. Thus they might turn any thing into lightness and vanity; but it was not the way of Christ or his apostles, to teach, speak, or reason, after that manner. Hereupon those baptists went their way, and after they were gone, we had a blessed meeting in the Lord's power, which was over all.

I mentioned before that many of the Scotch priests being greatly disturbed at the spreading of truth, and loss of their hearers thereby, were gone up to Edinburgh, to petition the council against me. Now, when I came back from the meeting to the inn where I lodged, an officer belonging to the council came to me, and brought me the following order:

*Thursday, the 8th of October, 1657, at his Highness's
Council in Scotland.*

Ordered,

That George Fox do appear before the council on Tuesday, the 13th of October next, in the forenoon.

E. Downing, Clerk of the Council.

When he had delivered me the order, he asked me whether I would appear or no? I did not tell him whether I would or no, but asked him if he had not forged the order: He said no, it was a real order from the council, and he was sent as their messenger with it. When the time came I appeared, and was had up into a great room, where many great persons came and looked at me. After a while the door-keeper came and had me into the council-chamber; and as I was going in he took off my hat. I asked him why he did so, and who was there that I might not go in with my hat on; for I told him I had been before the Protector with my hat on. But he hung up my hat, and had me in before them. When I was come in and had stood a while, and they said nothing to me, I was moved of the Lord to say, 'Peace be amongst you, and wait in the fear of God, that ye may receive his wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that by it ye may all be ordered, and may order all things under your hands to God's glory.' After I had done speaking, they asked me what was the occasion of my coming into that nation? I told them I came to visit the seed of God, which had long lain in bondage under corruption; and the intent of my coming was, that all in the nation that did profess the scriptures, the words of Christ, and of the prophets and apostles, might come to the light, spirit, and power, which they were in who gave them forth, that so in and by the Spirit they might understand the scriptures, and know Christ and God aright, and have fellowship with them, and one with another. They asked me whether I had any outward business there? I said, nay. Then they asked me how long I intended to stay in the country? I told them I should say little to that; my time was not to be long, yet in my freedom in the Lord, I stood in the will of him that sent me. Then they bid me withdraw, and the door-keeper took me by the hand and led me forth. In a little time they sent for me in again, and told me I must depart the nation of Scotland by that day seventh night. I asked

them why, what had I done? What was my transgression, that they passed such a sentence upon me to depart out of the nation? They told me they would not dispute with me. Then I desired them to hear what I had to say to them; but they said they would not hear me. I told them Pharaoh heard Moses and Aaron, and yet he was an heathen and no Christian, and Herod heard John Baptist; and they should not be worse than these. But they cried, 'withdraw, withdraw;' whereupon the door-keeper took me again by the hand, and led me out. Then I returned to my inn, and continued still in Edinburgh, visiting friends there and thereabouts, and strengthening them in the Lord. And after a little time I writ a letter to the council, to lay before them their unchristian dealing in banishing me, an innocent man, that sought their salvation and eternal good; a copy of which letter here followeth, directed—

To the Council of Edinburgh.

'Ye that sit in council, and bring before your judgment-seat the innocent, the just, without shewing the least cause what evil I have done, or convicting me of any breach of any law, and afterward ye banish me out of your nation and country, without telling me for what, or what evil I had done; though I told you, when ye asked me how long I would stay in the nation, that my time was not long (I spake it innocently), and yet ye banish me. Will not all, think ye, that fear God, judge this to be wickedness? Consider, did not they sit in council about Stephen, when they stoned him to death? Did not they sit in council about Peter and John, when they haled them out of the temple, and put them out of their council for a little season, and took counsel together, and then brought them in again and threatened them, and charged them to speak no more in that name? Was not this to stop the truth from spreading in that time? And had not the priests an hand in these things with the magistrates? and in examining Stephen when he was stoned to death? Was not the council gathered together against Jesus Christ to put him to death? and had not the chief priests an hand in it? When they go to persecute the just, and crucify the just, do they not then neglect judgment, and mercy, and justice, and the weighty matters of the law, which is just? Was not the apostle Paul tossed up and down by the priests and the rulers, and prisoned? And was not John Baptist

cast into prison? Are not ye doing the same work, shewing what spirit ye are of? Now do not ye shew the end of your profession, the end of your prayers, the end of your religion, and the end of your teaching, who are now come to banish the truth, and him that is come to declare it unto you? Doth not this shew that ye be but in the words, out of the life, of the prophets, Christ and his apostles? for they did not use such practice as to banish any. How do ye receive strangers, which is a command of God among the prophets, Christ and the apostles? Some by that means have entertained angels at unawares, but ye banish one that comes to visit the seed of God, and is not chargeable to any of you. Will not all that fear God, look upon this to be spite and wickedness against the truth? How are ye like to love enemies, that banish your friend? How are ye like to do good to them that hate you, when ye do evil to them that love you? How are ye like to heap coals of fire on their heads that hate you, and to overcome evil with good, when ye banish thus? Do ye not manifest to all that are in the truth, that ye have not the Christian spirit? How did ye do justice to me, when ye could not convict me of any evil, yet banish me? This shews that truth is banished out of your hearts, and ye have taken part against the truth with evil-doers, and the wicked envious priests, and stoners, strikers, and mockers in the streets, with these ye that banish, have taken part; whereas ye should have been a terror to these, and a praise to them that do well, and succourers of them that be in the truth, then might ye have been a blessing to the nation, and not have banished him that was moved of the Lord to visit the seed of God, and thereby have brought your names upon record, and made them to stink in ages to come, among them that fear God. Were not the magistrates stirred up in former ages to persecute or banish by the corrupt priests? and did not the corrupt priests stir up the rude multitude against the just in other ages? Therefore are your streets like Sodom and Gomorrha. Did not the Jews and the priests make the Gentiles' minds envious against the apostles? And who were they that would not have the prophet Amos to prophesy at the king's chapel, but bid him fly his way? And when Jeremiah was put in the prison, in the dungeon, and in the stocks, had not the priests an hand with the princes in doing it? Now see all that were in this work of banishing, prisoning, persecuting, whether they were not all out of the life of Christ, the prophets, and apostles? To the witness of God in you all

I speak. Consider whether or no they were not always the blind magistrates which turned their sword always backward, that knew not their friends from their foes, and so hit their friends? Such magistrates were deceived by flattery.'

G. F.

When this was delivered and read amongst them, some of them, as I heard, were troubled at what they had done, being made sensible that they would not be so served themselves. But it was not long before they that banished me were banished themselves, or glad to get away; who would not do good in the day when they had power, nor suffer others that would.

After I had spent some time among friends at Edinburgh and thereabouts, I passed from thence to Heads again, where friends had been in great sufferings; for the Presbyterian priests had excommunicated them, and given charge that none should buy or sell with them, nor eat nor drink with them. So they could neither sell their commodities, nor buy what they wanted, which made it go very hard with some of them; for if they had bought bread or other victuals of any of their neighbours, the priests threatened them so with curses, that they would run and fetch it from them again. But colonel Ashfield, being a justice of peace in that country, put a stop to the priests' proceedings. This colonel Ashfield was afterwards convinced himself, and had a meeting settled at his house, and declared the truth, and lived and died in it.

After I had visited friends at Heads and thereaways, and had encouraged them in the Lord, I went to Glasgow, where a meeting was appointed, but not one of the town came to it. As I went into the city, the guard at the gates had me up before the governor, who was a moderate man, and a great deal of discourse I had with him; but he was too light to receive the truth, yet he set me at liberty, and so I passed to the meeting. But seeing none of the town's people came to the meeting, we declared truth through the town, and so passed away. and visited friends in their meetings thereabouts, and then returned towards Badcow. Several friends went and declared truth in their steeple-houses, and the Lord's power was with them. And one time, as I was going with William Osburn to his house, there lay a company of rude fellows by the way-side, who had hid themselves under the hedges and in bushes, and I spying them, asked him what they

were? Oh, said he, they are thieves. Now Robert Widders being moved to go to speak to a priest, was left behind, intending to come after. So I said to William Osburn, 'I will stay here in this valley, and do thou go look after Robert Widders;' but he was unwilling to go, being afraid to leave me there alone, because of those fellows, till I told him I feared them not. Then I called to them, asking them what they lay lurking there for; and I bid them come up to me; but they were loth to come up. I charged them to come up to me, or else it might be worse with them; then they came trembling to me, for the dread of the Lord had struck them. I admonished them to be honest, and directed them to the light of Christ in their hearts, that by it they might see what an evil it was to follow after theft and robbery; and the power of the Lord came over them. So I stayed there till William Osburn and Robert Widders came up, and then we passed on together. But it is likely that if we two had gone away before, they would have robbed Robert Widders when he had come after alone, there being three or four of them.

We went to William Osburn's house, where we had a good opportunity to declare the truth to several people that came in there. And then we went among the Highlanders, who were so devilish, they had like to have spoiled us and our horses; for they run at us with pitch-forks, but through the Lord's goodness we escaped them, being preserved by his power.

From thence we passed to Stirling, where the soldiers took us up and had us to the main-guard, and after a few words with their officers, the Lord's power coming over them, we were set at liberty: but no meeting could we get amongst them in the town, they were so closed up in darkness. Next morning there came a man with an horse that was to run a race, and most of the town's people and the officers went to see it. As they came back from the race, I had a brave opportunity to declare the day of the Lord and his word amongst them: some confessed to it, and some opposed; but the Lord's truth and power came over them all.

Leaving Stirling, we travelled through the country till we came to Burnt Island, where I had two meetings at one captain Pool's house; one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon. Whilst they went to dinner, I walked to the sea-side, not having freedom to eat with them. Both he and his wife were convinced, and became good friends afterward, and several officers of the army came in and received the truth.

We passed from thence through several other places in the country till we came to Johnston's, where were several baptists that were very bitter, and came in a rage to dispute with us; vain janglers and disputers indeed they were. And when they could not prevail by disputing, they went and informed the governor against us; and next morning they raised a whole company of foot, and banished me, and Alexander Parker, and James Lancaster, and Robert Widders out of the town. As they guarded us through the town, James Lancaster was moved to sing with a melodious sound in the power of God; and I was moved to proclaim the day of the Lord, and preach the everlasting gospel to the people: for the people generally came forth, so that the streets were filled with them; and the soldiers were so ashamed, that they said they had rather have gone to Jamaica than have guarded us so. But we were put into a boat with our horses, and carried over the water and there left. And the baptists, who were the cause of our being thus put out of this town, were themselves, not long after, turned out of the army; and he that was then governor, was turned out also when the king came in.

Being thus thrust out of Johnstons, we went to another market town, where Edward Billing and many soldiers quartered. We went to an inn, and desired to have a meeting in the town, that we might preach the everlasting gospel amongst them. The officers and soldiers said, we should have it in the town-hall; but the Scotch magistrates in spite appointed a meeting there that day for the business of the town. Which when the officers of the soldiery understood, and perceived that it was done in malice, they would have had us to have gone into the town-hall nevertheless. But we told them no, by no means, for then the magistrates might inform the governor against them, and say, they took the town-hall from them by force, when they were to do their town business therein. But we told them we would go to the market-place; they said it was market-day; we replied, it was so much the better; for we would have all people to hear truth, and know our principles. So Alexander Parker went up and stood upon the market-cross with a bible in his hand, and declared the truth amongst the soldiers and market-people; but the Scots, being a dark carnal people, gave little heed, nor hardly took notice what was said. After a while I was moved of the Lord God to stand up at the cross, and to declare with a loud voice the everlasting truth, and the day of the Lord that was coming upon all sin and wickedness. Whereupon the people came running out of the town-hall, and they

gathered so together, that at last we had a large meeting; for they sat in the court but only for a colour, to hinder us from having the hall to meet in. When the people were come away, the magistrates followed them, and some walked by, but some staid and heard; and the Lord's power came over all and kept all quiet. And the people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them and had enlightened them, that with his light they might all see their evil deeds, and be saved from their sins by him, and might come to know him to be their teacher. But if they would not receive Christ and own him, it was told them, that this light, which came from him, would be their condemnation.

Several of them were made loving to us, especially of the English people, and some came afterwards to be convinced. But there was a soldier that was very envious against us, and hated both us and the truth, and spake evil of the truth, and very despitefully against the light of Christ Jesus, which we bore testimony to, and mighty zealous he was for the priests and their hearers. As this man was hearing the priest, holding his hat before his face while the priest prayed, one of the priest's hearers stabbed him to death; so he who had rejected the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and cried down the servants of the Lord, was murdered amongst them whom he had so cried up, and by one of them.

We travelled from this town through the country to Leith, warning and exhorting people as we went to turn to the Lord. At Leith the innkeeper told me, that the council had granted forth warrants to apprehend me, because I was not gone out of the nation, after the seven days were expired, that they had ordered me to depart the nation in; several friendly people also came and told me the same; to whom I said, 'What do ye tell me of their warrants against me? if there were a cart load of them I do not heed them, for the Lord's power is over them all.'

So I went from Leith up to Edinburgh again, where they said the warrants from the council were out against me, and I went to the inn where I had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with me. After I had visited the friends in the city, I desired those friends that travelled with me, to get ready their horses in the morning, and we rode out of town together: there were with me at that time Thomas Rawlinson, Alexander Parker, and Robert Widders. When we were come out of town, they asked me, whither I would go? I told them, it was upon me from the Lord to go back again to Johnston, (the town

out of which we had been lately thrust,) and to set the power of God and his truth over them also. Alex. Parker said he would go along with me; and I wished the other two to stay at a town, about three miles from Edinburgh, till we returned. Then Alexander Parker and I got over the water, which was about three miles over, and I rid on through the country; but in the afternoon, his horse being weak and not able to hold up with mine, I put on, and got into Johnston's just as they were drawing up the bridges; the officers and soldiers never questioning me, so I rid up the street to captain Davenport's house, from which house we had been banished before. There were many officers with him; and when I came amongst them, they lifted up their hands, admiring that I should come again; but I told them, the Lord God had sent me amongst them again; so they went their way. And the baptists sent me a letter, by way of challenge, that they would discourse with me the next day; I sent them word, I would meet them at such an house, about half a mile out of the town, at such an hour: for I considered, if I should stay in town to discourse with them, they might, under pretence of discoursing with me, have raised men to put me out of the town again, as they had done before. At the time appointed I went to the place appointed, captain Davenport and his son accompanying me, and there I staid some hours, but never a one of them came. But while I staid there waiting for them, I spied Alexander Parker coming; who not being able to reach the town, had lain out the night before; and when I saw him, I was exceeding glad that we were met again.

This captain Davenport was then loving to friends; but afterwards coming more into the obedience to truth, he was turned out of his place for not putting off his hat, and for saying thou and thee to them.

Now when we had waited beyond reasonable ground to expect any of their coming, we departed; and Alexander Parker being moved to go again to the town, where we had the meeting at the market-cross; I passed alone through the country to lieutenant Foster's quarters, where there were several officers that were convinced. From thence I went up to the town, where I had left the other two friends, and they and I went back to Edinburgh together.

When we were come to the city, I bid Robert Widders follow me; and in the dread and power of the Lord we came up to the two first sentries; and the Lord's power came so over them, that we passed by them without any examination. Then we rode up the street to the market-

place, and by the main-guard out at the gate by the third sentry, and so clear out at the suburbs, and there came to an inn and set up our horses, it being the seventh day of the week. Now I saw and felt that we had rid, as it were, against the cannon's mouth, or the sword's point; but the Lord's power and immediate hand carried us over the heads of them all. Next day I went up to the meeting in the city, friends having notice that I would be at it; there came many officers and soldiers to it, and a glorious meeting it was; and the everlasting power of God was set over the nation, and his Son reigned in his glorious power; and all was quiet, and no man offered to meddle with me. When the meeting was ended, and I had visited friends, I came out of the city to my inn again; and the next day, being the second day of the week, we set forward through the country, towards the borders of England.

As we travelled along the country I spied a steeple-house, and it struck at my life. I asked what steeple-house it was, and was answered that it was Dunbar. When I came thither, and had set up at an inn, I walked up to the steeple-house, having a friend or two with me. When we came into the steeple-house-yard, one of the chief men of the town was walking there; so I spake to one of the friends that was with me, to go to him and tell him, that about the ninth hour next morning there would be a meeting there of the people of God called Quakers; of which we desired, he would give notice to the people of the town. He sent me word, that they were to have a lecture there by the ninth hour, but that we might have our meeting there by the eighth hour if we would. We concluded so, and desired him to give notice of it. Accordingly in the morning both poor and rich came; and there being a captain of horse quartered in the town, he and his troopers came also, so that we had a large meeting: and a glorious meeting it was, the Lord's power being set over all. After some time the priest came, and went into the steeple-house; but we being in the steeple-house-yard most of the people staid with us: and friends were so full, and their voices so high in the power of God, that the priest could do little in the steeple-house, but came quickly out again, and stood a while, and then went his way. For after I had opened to the people, where they might find Christ Jesus, having turned them to the light, which he had enlightened them withal, that in the light they might see Christ, that died for them, and turn to him, and know him to be their Saviour and free teacher; and had let them see, that all the teachers they had hitherto followed were hirelings, who

made the gospel chargeable, and had shewed them the wrong ways they had walked in, in the night of apostacy, and had directed them to Christ, the new and living way to God; and had manifested unto them, how they had lost the religion and worship which Christ set up in spirit and truth, and had hitherto been in the religions and worships of men's making and setting up; and after I had turned the people to the Spirit of God, which led the holy men of God to give forth the scriptures; and shewed them, that they must also come to receive and be led by the same Spirit in themselves (a measure of which was given unto every one of them) if ever they came to know God and Christ, and the scriptures aright: perceiving the other friends that were with me, to be full of the power and word of the Lord, I stepped down, giving way for them to declare what they had from the Lord to say unto the people. Towards the latter end of the meeting some professors began to jangle; whereupon I stood up again, and answered their questions, so that they seemed to be satisfied, and our meeting ended in the Lord's power, quiet and peaceable. This was the last meeting I had in Scotland; and the truth and the power of God was set over that nation, and many, by the power and spirit of God were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their Saviour and teacher, whose blood was shed for them; and since there is a great increase, and great there will be in Scotland. For when first I set my horse's feet upon the Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me, like innumerable sparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick cloddy earth of hypocrisy and falseness that is a top, and a briary, brambly nature, which is to be burnt up with God's word, and ploughed up with his spiritual plough, before God's seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to his glory. But the husbandman is to wait in patience.

From Dunbar we came to Berwick, where we were questioned a little by the officers, but the governor was loving towards us; and in the evening we had a little meeting, in which the power of the Lord was manifested over all.

Leaving Berwick, we came to Morpeth, and so through the country, visiting friends, to Newcastle, where I had been once before: for the Newcastle priests had written many books against us; and one Ledger, an alderman of the town, was very envious against truth and friends. He and the priests had said, the Quakers would not come into any great towns, but lived in the Fells, like butterflies. So I took Anthony Pearson with me, and went to

this Ledger, and several others of the aldermen, desiring to have a meeting amongst them, seeing they had written so many books against us, for we were now come, I told them, into their great town. But they would not yield we should have a meeting, neither would they be spoken withal, save only this Ledger and one other. I told them, had they not called friends' butterflies, and said we would not come into any great towns? and now we were come into their town, they would not come at us, though they had printed books against us. 'Who are the butterflies, now?' said I. Then Ledger began to plead for the sabbath-day; but I told him they kept markets and fairs on that which was the sabbath-day, for that was the seventh day of the week; whereas that day, which the professed Christians now met on, and call their sabbath, is the first day of the week. So when we could not have a public meeting among them, we got a little meeting among friends and friendly people, at the gate-side, where a meeting is continued to this day, in the name of Jesus. As I was passing away by the market-place, the power of the Lord rose in me, to warn them of the day of the Lord, that was coming upon them. And not long after all those priests of Newcastle and their profession, were turned out, when the king came in.

From Newcastle we travelled through the countries, having meetings and visiting friends as we went, in Northumberland and Bishoprick; and a very good meeting we had at lieutenant Dove's, where many were turned to the Lord and his teaching. After the meeting I went to visit a justice of peace, a very sober loving man; and he confessed to the truth.

From thence we came to Durham, where was a man come down from London, to set up a college there, to make ministers of Christ, as they said: I went, with some others, to reason with the man, and to let him see, that to teach men Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and the seven arts, which was all but the teachings of the natural man, was not the way to make them ministers of Christ. For the languages began at Babel; and to the Greeks, that spake Greek, as their mother-tongue, the preaching of the cross of Christ was foolishness; and to the Jews, that spake Hebrew as their mother-tongue, Christ was a stumbling-block. And as for the Romans, who had the Latin and Italian, they persecuted the Christians; and Pilate, one of the Roman governors, set Hebrew, Greek and Latin a top of Christ, when he crucified him. So he might see the many languages began at Babel, and they set them a top of Christ,

the Word, when they crucified him. And John the divine, who preached the word, that was in the beginning, said, that the beast and the whore have power over tongues and languages, and they are as waters. Thus, I told him, he might see, the whore and beast have power over the tongues and the many languages which are in mystery Babylon; for they began at Babel; and the persecutors of Christ Jesus set them over him when he was crucified by them; but he is risen over them all, who was before them all. 'Now,' said I to this man, 'dost thou think to make ministers of Christ by these natural, confused languages, which sprang from Babel, are admired in Babylon, and set a top of Christ, the life, by a persecutor? Oh no!' So the man confessed to many of these things. Then we shewed him further, that Christ made his ministers himself, and gave gifts unto them, and bid them pray to the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labourers. And Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant (as to school-learning) preached Christ Jesus the Word, which was in the beginning, before Babel was. Paul also was made an apostle, not of man, nor by man, neither received he the gospel from man, but from Jesus Christ, who is the same now, and so is his gospel, as it was at that day. When we had thus discoursed with the man, he became very loving and tender, and after he had considered further of it, he never set up his college.

From Durham we went to Anthony Pearson's, and from thence into Cleaveland, and so passed through Yorkshire to the further end of Holderness, and had mighty meetings, the Lord's power accompanying us.

After we parted from Anthony Pearson's, we went by Hull and Pontefract, through the countries, to George Watkinson's house, and visited most of the meetings all up and down in these parts, till we came to Scale-house, and so on to Swarthmore; the everlasting power and arm of God carrying us through, and preserving us. After I had visited friends up and down thereaways, I passed through the countries into Yorkshire again, and into Cheshire, and so through other counties into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire: and glorious meetings we had, the Lord's presence being with us.

At Nottingham I sent to Rice Jones, desiring him to make his people acquainted that I had something to say to them from the Lord. He came and told me many of them lived in the country, and he could not tell how to send to them. I told him he might acquaint them about the town of it, and send to as many in the country as he could. So

the next day we met at the castle, there being about four-score people, to whom I declared the truth for about the space of two hours; and the Lord's power was over them all, so that they had not power to open their mouths in opposition. When I had done, one of them asked me a question, which I was loth to have answered, for I saw it might lead into jangling, and I was unwilling to go into jangling, for some of the people were tender, yet I could not tell how well to escape it. Wherefore I answered the question, and was moved forthwith to speak to Rice Jones, and lay before him how that he had been the man that had scattered such as had been tender, and some that had been convinced, and had been led out of many vanities of the world, which he had formerly judged; but now he judged the power of God in them, and they, being simple, turned to him, and so he and they were turned to be vainer than the world, for many of his followers were turned to be the greatest foot-ball players and wrestlers in the country. So I told him it was the serpent in him, that had scattered, and done hurt to such as were tender towards the Lord. Nevertheless, if he did wait in the fear of God, for the Seed of the woman, Christ Jesus, to bruise the serpent's head in him, that had scattered and done the hurt, by the Seed of Christ Jesus (he coming into him) he might come to gather them again by this heavenly Seed; though it would be an hard work for him to gather them again out of those vanities he had led them into. At this Rice Jones said, 'Thou liest, it is not the Seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head.' 'No!' said I, 'what is it then?' 'I say, it is the law,' said he. 'But,' said I, 'the scripture, speaking of the Seed of the woman, saith, "It shall bruise thy head, and thou shall bruise his heel." Now, hath the law an heel,' said I, 'to be bruised?' Then Rice Jones and all his company were at a stand, and I was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him, and say, 'This Seed, Jesus Christ, the Seed of the woman, which should bruise the serpent's head, shall bruise thy head, and break you all to pieces.' Thus I did leave on the heads of them the Seed, Christ; and not long after he and his company scattered to pieces, and several of them came to be friends, and stand to this day; for many of them had been convinced about eight years before, but had been led aside by this Rice Jones, for they denied the inward cross, the power of God, and so went into vanity. And it was about eight years since I had been formerly amongst them, in which time I was to pass over them and by them, seeing they had slighted the Lord's truth and power,

and the visitation of his love unto them. But now was the time that I was moved to go to them again, and it was of great service, for many of them were brought to the Lord Jesus Christ, and were settled upon him, sitting down under his teaching and feeding, where they were kept fresh and green; and the others that would not be gathered to him, soon after withered. This was that Rice Jones that some years before had said I was then at the highest, and should fall. But, poor man, he little thought how near his own fall was.

We left Nottingham and went into Warwickshire, and thence passing through some parts of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, visiting friends, and having meetings with them as we travelled, we came into Bedfordshire, where we had large gatherings in the name of Jesus. After some time we came to John Crook's house, where a general yearly meeting for the whole nation was appointed to be held. This meeting lasted three days, and many friends from most parts of the nation came to it, so that the inns and towns round thereabouts were filled, for many thousands of people were at it. And although there were some disturbance by some rude people that had run out from truth, yet the Lord's power came over all, and a glorious meeting it was. And the everlasting gospel was preached, and many received it, (for there were many sorts of professors came to the meeting), which gospel brought life and immortality to light in them, and shined over all.

Then was I moved by the power and Spirit of the Lord, to open unto them the promise of God, how that it was made to the seed, not to seeds, as many, but to One, which seed was Christ; and that all people, both males and females, should feel this seed in them, which was heir of the promise, that so they might all witness Christ in them, the hope of glory, the mystery, which had been hid from ages and generations, which was revealed to the apostles, and is revealed again now, after this long night of apostacy. So that all might come up into this seed, Christ Jesus, and walk in it, and sit down together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, who was the foundation of the prophets and apostles, and the rock of ages, and is our foundation now. And all sitting down in him, sit down in the substance, the first and the last, that changes not, the seed that bruises the serpent's head, and was before he was, who ends all the types, figures, and shadows, and is the substance of them all, in whom there is no shadow. Now these things were upon me to open unto all, that they might mind and see what it is they sit down in.

‘ For first, they that sit down in Adam in the fall, sit down in misery, in death, in darkness, and corruption.

‘ Secondly, they that sit down in the types, figures, and shadows, and under the first priesthood, law, and covenant, sit down in that which must have an end, and which made nothing perfect.

‘ Thirdly, they that sit down in the apostacy, that hath gotten up since the apostles’ days, sit down in spiritual Sodom and Egypt, and are drinking of the whore’s cup, under the beast’s and dragon’s power.

‘ Fourthly, they that sit down in the state in which Adam was before he fell, sit down in that which may be fallen from, for he fell from that state, though it was perfect.

‘ Fifthly, they that sit down in the prophets sit down in that which must be fulfilled; and they that sit down in the fellowship of water, bread, and wine, these being temporal things, they sit down in that which is short of Christ, and of his baptism.

‘ Sixthly, to sit down in a profession of all the scriptures from Genesis to the Revelations, and not be in the power and spirit which they were in that gave them forth, that was to be turned away from, by them that came into the power and spirit which they were in that gave forth the scriptures.

‘ Seventhly, they that sit down in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, these sit down in him that never fell, nor never changed. Here is the safe sitting for all his elect, his church, his spiritual members, of which he is the living head, his living stones, the household of faith, of which house he is the corner stone that stands and abides all weathers. “For,” as the apostle said, “he hath quickened us, who were dead in sins and trespasses, &c. and made us to sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus; that in the ages to come he might shew the exceeding riches of his grace, in his kindness towards us, through Jesus Christ.” Now, the ages are come, that his kindness and exceeding riches towards us through Jesus Christ is truly manifested in us, as it was in the apostles’ days, even in us, who have been dead in sins and trespasses as they were, but now are quickened and made alive, and made to sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, the First and the Last, by whom all things were created, who is ascended above all, and is over all, and whose glorious presence is now known. And all that sit down here in Christ Jesus they see, where all other people sit, and in what. So the promise of God being to the Seed, which is one, Christ Jesus, every man and woman must come to witness this Seed, Christ in them, that they may be heirs

of the promise, and inheriting that, they will inherit substance. These things were largely declared of, and the state of the church, and the state of the false church since the apostles' days, opened; and how the true church fled into the wilderness; and the state of the false prophets, which Christ said should come, and John saw were come, and how all the world wondered after them; and how they had filled the world with false doctrines, ways, worships, and religions; and how the everlasting gospel was now preached again to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people; for all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, had drunk the whore's cup, and she was over them, and sate upon them. And in this night of apostacy, the pure religion and worship in Spirit, which was in the apostles' days, and the way of life and living faith, and the power and Holy Ghost were lost; but now they came to be set up again by Christ Jesus, and his messengers and ministers of the gospel, as in the apostles' days. For as Christ sent his disciples to go and preach the gospel into all the world, and after that the false prophets and antichrists went over the world, and preached their false doctrines and traditions, and heathenish and jewish rudiments: so now again, the everlasting gospel must be preached to all nations, and to every creature, that they may come into the pure religion, to worship God in the spirit and truth, and may know Christ Jesus, their way to God, and him to be the author of their faith, and may receive the gospel from heaven, and not from men; in which gospel, received from heaven, is the heavenly fellowship, which is a mystery to all the fellowships in the world. Now after these things had been largely opened, with many other things concerning Christ Jesus and his kingdom, and the people were turned to the divine light of Christ, and his Spirit, by which they might come both to know God and Christ, and the scriptures, and to have fellowship with them, and one with another in the same spirit, I was moved to declare and open divers other things to those friends who had received a part of the ministry, concerning the exercise of their spiritual gifts in the church, which, being taken in writing by one that was present, was after this manner:

Friends,

‘Take heed of destroying that which ye have begotten; for that which destroys, goes out, and is the cast-away: and though that be true, yea, and may be the pure truth which such an one speaks, yet if he doth not remain in that, and live in that in his own particular, but goes out, the

same which he is gone out from, cometh over him ; so that that calms the spirits, and cools the spirits, that goes over the world, and brings to the Father, to inherit the life eternal, and reaches to the spirits in prison in all. Therefore in the living, immovable word of the Lord God dwell, and in the renown thereof, and remain on the foundation, that is pure, and that is sure : for whosoever goes out from the pure, and ministers not in and from that, he comes to an end, and doth not remain, though he may have had a time, and may have been serviceable for a time, while he lived in the thing.

‘ And take heed of many words, but what reacheth to the life, that settles in the life ; that which cometh from the life, and is received from God, that reaches to the life, and settles others in the life : for the work is not now as it was at first ; but the work now is, to settle and stay in the life. For as friends have been led to minister in the power, and the power hath gone through, so that there hath grown an understanding among both people of the world and friends ; so friends must be kept in the life, which is pure, that with that they may answer the pure life of God in others. For if friends do not live in the pure life which they speak of, to answer the life in those that they speak to, the other part steps in, and so there comes up an outward acquaintance, and he lets that come over him. But as every one is kept living in the life of God, over all that which is contrary, they are in their places ; then they do not lay hands on any suddenly, which is the danger now ; for if any one do, he may lose his discerning, and may lay hands on the wrong part, and so let the deceit come too near him ; and the deceit will steal over, so that it will be an hard thing for him to get it down. There is no one strikes his fellow-servants but first he is gone from the pure in his own particular ; for when he goeth from the light he is enlightened withal, then he strikes, and then he hath his reward ; the light which he is gone from, Christ, he comes and gives him his reward. This is the state of the evil servants ; the boisterous, and the hasty, and rash, beget nothing to God ; but the life, which doth reach the life, is that which begets to God. Now when all are settled in the life, they are in that which remains for ever, and what is received there is received from the Lord ; and what one receiveth from the Lord he keepeth, and so he sitteth still, and cool, and quiet in his own spirit, and gives it forth as he is moved ; but to the harlots, judgment.

‘ So friends, this is the word of the Lord to you all, be

watchful and careful in all meetings ye come into; for where friends are sitting together in silence, they are many times gathered into their own measures. Now, when a man is come newly out of the world, from ministering to the world's people, he cometh out of the dirt, and then he had need take heed that he be not rash. For now, when he comes into a silent meeting, that is another state; then he must come, and feel his own spirit, how it is, when he comes to them that sit silent, for if he be rash, they will judge him, that having been in the world, and amongst the world, the heat is not yet off him. For he may come in the heat of his spirit out of the world; whereas the others are still and cool; and his condition in that not being agreeable to theirs, he may rather do them hurt, by begetting them out of the cool state into the heating state, if he be not in that which commands his own spirit, and gives him to know it.

‘ There is a great danger too in travelling abroad in the world; the same power that moves any to go forth, is that which must keep them. For it is the greatest danger to go abroad, except a man be moved of the Lord, and go in the power of the Lord; for then, he keeping in the power, is kept by it in his journey, and in his work; and it will enable him to answer the transgressed, and keep above the transgressor. And every one feeling the danger to his own particular in travelling abroad, there the pure fear of the Lord will be placed, and kept in. For now, though they that travel may have openings when they are abroad, to minister to others, yet as for their own particular growth, they must dwell in the life which doth open, and that will keep down that which would boast. For the minister comes into the death to that which is in the death and in prison, and so returns up again into the life, and into the power, and into the wisdom, to preserve him clean.

‘ So this is the word of the Lord God to you all; feel that ye stand in the presence of the Lord: for every man's word shall be his burden; but the word of the Lord is pure, and answers the pure in every one. The word of the Lord is that which was in the beginning, and brings to the beginning; it is an hammer, to beat down the transgressor (not the transgressed) and as a fire to burn up that which is contrary to it. So friends, come into that which is over all the spirits of the world, and fathoms all the spirits of the world, and stands in the patience; with that ye may see where others stand, and reach that which is of God in every one. So here is no strife, no contention, out of trans-

gression, for he that goeth into the strife, and into the contention, he is from the pure spirit. For where any goeth into the contention, if any thing hath been begotten by him before, then that contentious nature doth get a top, and spoil that which was begotten, and quencheth his own prophesying. So if that be not subjected by the power in the particular, which would arise into the strife, that is dangerous.

‘ Now, if any one have a moving to any place, and have spoken what they were moved of the Lord, let them return unto their habitation again, and live in the pure life of God, and in the fear of the Lord; and so will ye in the life, and in the solid and seasoned spirit be kept, and preach as well in life as with words (for none must be light or wild). For the Seed of God is weighty, and brings to be solid, and leads into the wisdom of God, by which the wisdom of the creation is known. But if that part be up, which runs into the imaginations, and that part be standing, in which the imaginations come up, and the pure spirit be not thoroughly come up to rule and reign, then that will run out, and that will glory, and will boast and vapour; and so will such an one spoil that which opened to him: and this is for condemnation. So every one mind that, which feels through and commands his spirit, whereby every one may know what spirit he is of; for he should first try his own spirit, and then he may try others; and he should first know his own spirit, and then he may know others. Therefore that which doth command all these spirits where the heats and burnings come in and get up, in that wait, which chains them down and cools: that is the elect, the heir of the promise of God. For no hasty, rash, brittle spirits (though they have prophecies) have held out, and gone through, they not being subjected to the prophesy. The earthly will not abide, for it is brittle, and in that state the ministry was another’s, not the Son’s; for the Son hath life in himself, and the Son hath the power, which man being obedient to he may be serviceable; but if he go from the pure power, then he falls, and abuseth it. Therefore let your faith stand in the pure power of the Lord God, and do not abuse it, but let that search through, and work through, and let every one stand in the power of the Lord God, which reacheth the Seed of God, which is the heir of the promise of life without end. And let none be hasty to speak, for ye have time enough, and with an eye ye may reach the witness: neither let any be backward when ye are moved, for that brings destruction. Now, truth hath an honour in the

hearts of people, which are not friends ; so that all friends being kept in the truth, they are kept in the honour, they are honourable, and that will honour them : but if any lose the power, they lose the life, they lose their crown, they lose their honour, they lose the cross, which should crucify them, and they crucify the just ; and by losing the power, the Lamb comes to be slain. And as it is here, so will it be in other nations ; for all friends, here and there, are as one family ; the seed, the plants, they are as a family. Now all being kept in that which subjects all, and keeps all under, to wit, the Seed itself, the life itself, that is the heir of the promise ; and that is the bond of peace : for there is the unity in the Spirit with God, and with one another. For he that in the life is kept, hears God, and sees man's condition ; and with that he answers the life in others, that hear God also : thus one friend that is come into that, comprehends the world. But that which friends do speak, they must live in ; so may they look, that others may come into that which they speak, to live in the same. For the power of the Lord God hath been abused by some, and the worth of truth hath not been minded ; there hath been a trampling on, and marring with the feet, and that abuseth the power. But now every friend is to keep in the power, and to take heed to that ; for that must be kept down, which would trample and marr with the feet, and the pure life and power of God is to be lived in over that, that none with the feet might foul or marr, but every one may be kept in the pure power and life of the Lord : then the water of life cometh in ; then he that ministereth, drinketh himself, and giveth others to drink.

‘ Now, when any shall be moved to go to speak in a steeple-house or market, turn in to that which moves, and be obedient to it, that that which would not go may be kept down ; for that which would not go will be apt to get up. And take heed on the other hand, that the lavishing part do not get up, for it is a bad savour ; therefore that must be kept down, and be kept subject. So wait in the light of the Lord God, that ye may be all kept in the wisdom of God. For when the Seed is up in every particular, then there is no danger : but when there is an opening and prophesy, and the power stirs before the seed comes up, then there is something that will be apt to run out rashly ; there is the danger, and there must be the patience in the fears. For it is a weighty thing to be in the work of the ministry of the Lord God, and to go forth in that : it is not as a customary preaching ; but it is to bring people to the end of all outward preaching. For when ye have

declared the truth to people, and they have received it, and are come into that which ye speak of, the uttering of many words, and long declarations out of the life, may beget them into a form. And if any should run on rashly into words again, without the savour of life, then they that are come into the thing that he spake of, will judge him; whereby he may hurt again that which he had raised up before. So friends, ye must all come into the thing, that is spoken in the openings of the heavenly life among you, and walk in the love of God, that ye may answer the thing spoken to.

‘ And take heed all of running into inordinate affections: for when people come to own you, then there is danger of the wrong part to get up. There was a strife among the disciples of Christ, who should be the greatest: Christ told them, “The heathen exercise lordship, and have dominion over one another, but it shall not be so among you.” For Christ the Seed was to come up in every one of them; so then, where is the greatest? for that part in the disciples which looked to be greatest, was the same that was in the gentiles. But who comes here to live in the word, that sanctified him, having the heart sanctified, the tongue and lips sanctified, living in the word of wisdom, that makes clean the heart, and reconciles to God, all things being upheld by the word and power; as there is an abiding in the word of God, that upholds times and seasons, and gives all things increase, here dwelling in the word of wisdom, if there be but two or three agreed in this on earth it shall be done for them in heaven. So in this must all things be ordered by the word of wisdom and power, that upholds all things, the times and the seasons, that are in the Father’s hand; to the glory of God, whereby his blessing may be felt among you: and this brings to the beginning. So this is the word of the Lord God to you all, Keep down, keep low, that nothing may rule nor reign in you, but life itself.

‘ Now, the power being lived in, the cross is lived in; and wherever friends come in this, they draw the power and the life over; and they leave a witness behind them, answering the witness of God in others. And where this is lived in there is no want of wisdom, no want of power, no want of knowledge; but he that ministereth in this, seeth with the eye, which the Lord openeth in him, what is for the fire, and what is for the sword; and what must be fed with judgment, and what must be nourished. This brings all down, and to be low, every one keeping to the power: for let a man get up never so high, yet he must come down

again to the power, where he left; and what he went from, he must come down again to that. So now, before all these wicked spirits be got down, which are rambling abroad, friends must have patience, and must wait in the patience, and in the cool life; and who is in this, doing the work of the Lord, he hath the tasting and the feeling of the Lamb's power and authority. Therefore all friends, keep cool and quiet in the power of the Lord God; and all that is contrary will be subjected: the Lamb hath the victory, in the Seed, through the patience.

'If any have been moved to speak, and have quenched that which moved them, let none such go forth afterward into words, until they feel the power to arise and move them thereto again: for after the first motion is quenched, the other part will be apt to get up; and if any go forth in that, he goeth forth in his own, and the betrayer will come into that.—And all friends, be careful not to meddle with the powers of the earth; but keep out of all such things: and as ye keep in the Lamb's authority, ye will answer that of God in them, and bring them to do justice, which is the end of the law. And keep out of all jangling, for all that be in the transgression, they be out from the law of love, but all that be in the law of love, come to the Lamb's power, in the Lamb's authority, who is the end of the law outward. For the law being added because of transgression, Christ, who was glorified with the Father, before the world began, is the end of the law, bringing them that live in the law of life, to live over all transgression: which every particular must feel in himself.'

More was then spoken to many of these particulars, which were not taken at large as they were delivered.

After this meeting was over, and most of the friends gone away, as I was walking in John Crook's garden, there came a party of horse, with a constable, to seize on me. I heard them ask who was in the house, and somebody made them answer I was there. They said I was the man they looked for; and went forthwith into the house, where they had many words with John Crook, and some few friends that were with him. But the Lord's power so confounded them, that they never came into the garden to look for me, but went their way in a rage. When I came into the house, friends were very glad to see them so confounded, and that I had escaped them. Next day I passed from thence, and after I had visited friends in several places as I went, I came to London, the Lord's

power accompanying me, and bearing me up in his service.

I had not been long come to London, before I heard that a Jesuit, who came over with an ambassador from Spain, had challenged all the Quakers to dispute with them at the earl of Newport's house : whereupon some friends let him know that we would meet him. Then he sent us word he would meet with twelve of the wisest learned men we had : awhile after he sent us word he would meet with but six ; and after that he sent us word again he would have but three to come. We hastened what we could, lest, for all his great boast, he should put it quite off at last. When we were come to the house, I bid Nicholas Bond and Edward Burrough go up, and enter the discourse with him, and I would walk awhile in the yard, and then come up after them. I advised them to state this question to him, whether or no the church of Rome, as it now stood, was not degenerated from the true church, which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and spirit, that they were in ? They stated the question accordingly, and the jesuit affirmed, that the church of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church. By this time I was come to them. Then we asked him whether they had the Holy Ghost poured out upon them, as the apostles had ? and he said, no. 'Then' said I, 'if ye have not the same Holy Ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and spirit that the apostles had, then ye are degenerated from the power and spirit which the primitive church was in.' So there needed little more to be said to that. Then I asked him what scripture they had for setting up cloisters for nuns, abbeys and monasteries for men, and for all their several orders ; and for their praying by beads, and to images, and for making crosses, and for forbidding of meats and marriages, and for putting people to death for religion ? 'If' said I, 'ye are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see by scriptures wherever they practised any such things.' (For it was agreed on both hands, that both he and we should make good by scriptures what we said.) Then he told us of a written word and an unwritten word. I asked him what he called his unwritten word : he said, 'The written word is the scriptures, and the unwritten word is that which the apostles spake by word of mouth ; which' said he, 'are all those traditions that we practise.' I bid him prove that by scripture. Then he brought the scripture, where the apostle says (2 Thess. ii. 5), "When I was with

you, I told you these things.” ‘That is’ said he, ‘I told you of nunneries, and monasteries, and of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads, and to images, and all the rest of the practices of the church of Rome, which’ he said, ‘was the unwritten word of the apostles, which they told then, and have since been continued down by tradition unto these times.’ Then I desired him to read that scripture again, that he might see how he had perverted the apostles’ words; for that which the apostle there tells the Thessalonians, he had told them before, is not an unwritten word, but is there written down, namely, that the man of sin, the son of perdition shall be revealed, before that great and terrible day of Christ, which he was writing of, should come: so this was not telling them any of those things that the church of Rome practises. In like manner the apostle, in the third chapter of that epistle, tells the church of some disorderly persons, he heard were amongst them, busy-bodies, who did not work at all; concerning whom he had commanded them by his unwritten word, when he was among them, that if any would not work, neither should he eat; which now he commands them again in his written words in this epistle, 2 Thess. iii. So this scripture afforded no proof for their invented traditions; and he had no other scripture-proof to offer.’ Therefore I told him, this was another degeneration of their church into such inventions and traditions as the apostles and primitive saints never practised.

After this he came to his sacrament of the altar, beginning at the pascal lamb, and the shew-bread; and so came to the words of Christ, “This is my body,” and to what the apostle writ of it to the Corinthians; concluding, that after the priest had consecrated the bread and wine, it was immortal and divine, and he that received it, received the whole Christ. I followed him through the scriptures he brought, till I came to Christ’s words and the apostle’s; and I shewed him that the same apostle told the Corinthians, after they had taken bread and wine in remembrance of Christ’s death, that they were reprobates, if Christ was not in them: but if the bread they ate was Christ, he must of necessity be in them, after they had eaten it. Besides, if this bread and this wine, which the Corinthians ate and drank, was Christ’s body, then how hath Christ a body in heaven? I observed to him also, that both the disciples at the supper, and the Corinthians afterwards, were to eat the bread, and drink the wine in remembrance of Christ, and to shew forth his death, till he come; which plainly proves, the bread and wine which they took

was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they ate, then he had been come, and was then there present; and it had been improper to have done such a thing in remembrance of him, if he had been then present with them; as he must have been, if that bread and wine, which they ate and drank, had been his real body. Then as to those words of Christ, "This is my body," I told him, Christ calls himself a vine, and a door, and is called in scripture a rock; 'Is Christ therefore an outward rock, door, or vine?' 'O,' said the jesuit, 'those words are to be interpreted:' 'So,' said I, 'are those words of Christ, this is my body.' Now having stopped his mouth as to argument, I made the jesuit a proposal thus: That seeing he said the bread and wine was immortal and divine, and the very Christ, and that whosoever received it, received the whole Christ; let a meeting be appointed between some of them (whom the pope and his cardinals should appoint) and some of us; and let a bottle of wine and loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let them consecrate which of those parts they would. And then set the consecrated and the unconsecrated bread and wine in a safe place, with a sure watch upon it, and let trial thus be made: whether the consecrated bread and wine would not lose its goodness, and the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn dead and sour, as well and as soon as that which was unconsecrated. By this means, said I, the truth of this matter may be made manifest. And if the consecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their savour and goodness, this may be a means to draw many to your church: if they change, decay and lose their goodness, then ought you to confess, and forsake your error, and shed no more blood about it: for much blood hath been shed about these things, as in queen Mary's days. To this the jesuit made this reply: 'Take (said he) a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it; and put one of them upon king David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment shall wear away as well as the other.' 'Is this thy answer,' said I, 'Yes,' said he. 'Then,' said I, 'by this the company may all be satisfied that your consecrated bread and wine is not Christ. Have ye told people so long that the consecrated bread and wine was immortal and divine, and that it was the very and real body and blood of Christ, and dost thou now say it will wear away, or decay, as well as the other! I must tell thee, Christ remains the same to day as yesterday, and never decays; but is the saints' heavenly food in all generations, through which they have

life.' He replied no more to this, being willing to let it fall; for the people that were present saw his error, and that he could not defend it. Then I asked him why their church did persecute, and put people to death for religion. He replied, it was not the church did it, but the magistrates. I asked him whether those magistrates were not counted and called believers and Christians. He said 'Yes:' 'Why then,' said I, 'are they not members of your church?' 'Yes,' said he. Then I left it to the people to judge from his own concessions, whether the church of Rome doth not persecute, and put people to death for religion. Thus we parted; and his subtilty was comprehended by simplicity.

Now, during the times that I was at London, I had many services lay upon me; for it was a time of much suffering. And I was moved to write to Oliver Cromwell, and lay before him the sufferings of friends both in this nation and in Ireland. There was also a talk about this time of making Cromwell king: whereupon I was moved to go to him, and warned him against the same, and of divers dangers; which if he did not avoid, I told him he would bring a shame and ruin upon himself and his posterity. He seemed to take well what I said to him, and thanked me: yet afterwards I was moved to write unto him more fully concerning that matter.

About this time the lady Claypool (so called) was sick, and much troubled in mind, and could receive no comfort from any that came to her; which when I heard of, I was moved to write unto her this following letter:

'Friend,

'Be still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God, to turn thy mind to the Lord God, from whom life comes; whereby thou mayest receive his strength and power to allay all blusterings, storms and tempests. That is it which works up into patience, into innocency, into soberness, into stillness, into stayedness, into quietness up to God, with his power. Therefore mind, that is the word of the Lord God unto thee, that the authority of God thou mayest feel, and thy faith in that, to work down that which troubles thee; for that is it which keeps peace, and brings up the witness in thee, which hath been transgressed, to feel after God with his power and life, who is a God of order and peace. When thou art in the transgression of the life of God in thy own particular, the mind flies up in the air, and the creature is led into the night, and nature

goes out of its course, and an old garment goes on, and an uppermost clothing; and thy nature being led out of its course, it comes to be all on a fire, in the transgression; and that defaceth the glory of the first body. Therefore be still a while from thy own thoughts, searching, seeking, desires and imaginations, and be stayed in the principle of God in thee, that it may raise thy mind up to God, and stay it upon God, and thou wilt find strength from him, and find him to be a God at hand, a present help in the time of trouble, and of need. And thou being come to the principle of God, which hath been transgressed, it will keep thee humble; and the humble, God will teach his way, which is peace, and such he doth exalt. Now as the principle of God in thee hath been transgressed, come to it, that it may keep thy mind down low to the Lord God; and deny thyself, and from thy own will, that is the earthly, thou must be kept. Then thou wilt feel the power of God, which will bring nature into its course, and give thee to see the glory of the first body. And there the wisdom of God will be received (which is Christ, by which all things were made and created) to be thereby preserved and ordered to God's glory. There thou wilt come to receive and feel the physician of value, who cloaths people in their right mind, whereby they may serve God, and do his will. For all distractions, unruliness and confusion is in the transgression; which transgression must be brought down, before the principle of God, which hath been transgressed against, be lifted up; whereby the mind may be seasoned, and stilled, and a right understanding of the Lord may be received; whereby his blessings enter, and are felt, over all that is contrary, in the power of the Lord God, which raises up the principle of God within, and gives a feeling after God, and in time gives dominion. Therefore keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is the word of the Lord God unto thee: for all these things happen to thee for thy good, and for the good of those concerned for thee, to make you know yourselves, and your own weakness, and that ye may know the Lord's strength and power, and may trust in him. Therefore let the time that is past be sufficient to every one who in any thing hath been lifted up in transgression out of the power of the Lord: for he can bring down and abase the mighty, and lay them in the dust of the earth. Therefore all keep low in his fear, that thereby ye may receive the secrets of God and his wisdom, and may know the shadow of the Almighty, and sit under it, in all tempests, and storms, and heats. For God is a God at hand, and the Most High rules in the children of

men. So then, this is the word of the Lord God unto you all, what the light doth make manifest and discover, as temptations, distractions, confusions, do not look at the temptations, confusions, corruptions; but at the light, which discovers them, and makes them manifest. And with the same light you may feel over them, to receive power to stand against them. The same light which lets you see sin and transgression, will let you see the covenant of God, which blots out your sin and transgression, which gives victory and dominion over it, and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at sin, and corruption, and distraction, ye are swallowed up in it: but looking at the light, which discovers them, ye will see over them. That will give victory; and ye will find grace and strength: and there is the first step to peace. That will bring salvation, and by it ye may see to the beginning, and the glory that was with the Father before the world began; and so come to know the seed of God, which is the heir of the promise of God, and of the world which hath no end; and which bruises the head of the serpent, who stops people from coming to God. That ye may feel the power of an endless life, the power of God, which is immortal; which brings the immortal soul up to the immortal God, in whom it doth rejoice. So in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, God Almighty strengthen thee.'

G. F.

When the foregoing paper was read to her, she said it stayed her mind for the present. Afterwards many friends got copies of it, both in England and Ireland, and read it to people that were troubled in mind; and it was made useful for the settling of the minds of several.

About this time came forth a declaration from Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, for a collection towards the relief of divers protestant churches (so called) driven out of Poland; and of twenty protestant families driven out of the confines of Bohemia. And there having been a like declaration published some time before, to invite the nation to a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, in order to a contribution to be made for the suffering protestants of the vallies of Lucerne, Angrona, &c. who were persecuted by the duke of Savoy, I was moved to write to the Protector and chief magistrates on this occasion, both to shew them the nature of a true fast (such as God requires and accepts); and to make them sensible of their injustice and self-condemnation, in blaming the papists for persecuting the protestants abroad, while they themselves, calling them-

selves protestants, were at the same time persecuting their protestant neighbours and friends at home. That which I writ to them was after this manner :

To the Heads and Governors of this Nation, who have put forth a Declaration for the keeping of a day of solemn Fasting and Humiliation, for the persecution (as you say) of divers people beyond the seas, professing the reformed religion, which, ye say, hath been transmitted unto them from their ancestors.

‘ A profession of the reformed religion may be transmitted to generations, and so holden by tradition ; and in that, wherein the profession and tradition is holden, is the day of humiliation kept ; which stands in the will of man, which is not the fast that the Lord requires, to bow down the head like a bulrush for a day, and the day following be in the same condition as they were the day before. To the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences do I speak, which testifieth for God every day, and witnesseth against all sin and persecution ; which measure of God, if ye be guided by it, doth not limit God to a day, but leads to the fast which the Lord requires, which is “ To loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.” Isaiah lviii. 6, 7. This is the fast the Lord requires ; and this stands not in the transmission of times, nor in the traditions of men : but this stands in that which was before times were, and which leads out of time, and shall be when time shall be no more. And these that teach for doctrine the commandments of men, are they that ever persecuted the life and power when it came. And whereas ye mention a decree or edict that was made against the said persecuted protestants, all such decrees or edicts proceed from the ground of the pope’s religion and supremacy, and therein stands his tyranny and cruelty, acted in that will, which is in that nature which exerciseth lordship over one another, (as ye may read Mark x. 42, Luke xxii. 25,) as all the heathen do, and ever did ; and in the heathenish nature is all the tyranny and persecution exercised, by them that are out of the obedience to the light of Christ Jesus in the conscience, which is the guider and leader of all who are tender of that of God in the conscience. But who are not led by this know not what it is to suffer for conscience sake. Now, whereas ye take into your consideration the sad persecution, tyranny and cruelty exercised upon them, whom

ye call your protestant brethren, and do contribute and administer to their wants outwardly; this is good in its place, and we own it; and see it good to administer to the necessities of others, and to do good to all: and we, who are sufferers by a law derived from the pope, are willing to join and to contribute with you to their outward necessities. For "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;" who is good to all, and gracious to all, and willing that all should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. But in the mean time, while ye are doing this, and taking notice of others' cruelty, tyranny and persecution, turn your eye upon yourselves, and see what ye are doing at home. To the light of Christ Jesus in all your consciences I speak, which cannot lie, nor cannot err, nor cannot bear false witness; but doth bear witness for God, and cries for equity, and justice, and righteousness to be executed. See what ye are doing, who profess the scriptures, which were given forth by the saints in light, who dwelt in the light and in the life of them. For them, who do now witness the same light, the same life, and the same power, which gave forth the scriptures, which ye in words profess, them ye persecute, them ye hale out of your synagogues and markets; them ye beat, stock, and imprison. Now let that of God, in your consciences, which is just, and righteous, and equal, examine and try, whether ye have any example or precedent to exercise this persecution, which now many in this nation suffer under, who are a people harmless and innocent, walking in obedience towards God and man. And though ye account the way of truth they walk in, heresy, yet therein do they exercise themselves, to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and man, as ye may read the saints of old did, (Acts xxiv. 14, 15, 16); not wronging any man, neither giving any just cause of offence; only being obedient to the commands of the Lord, to declare, as they are moved by the Holy Ghost; and standing for the testimony of a good conscience, speaking the truth in Christ, their consciences bearing them witness that they lie not: for this do they suffer under you, who in words profess the same thing for which they suffer. Now see if any age or generation did ever persecute as ye do; for ye profess Christ Jesus, who reveals the Father; and persecute them that witness the revelation of the Father by Christ Jesus unto them. Ye profess Christ Jesus, who is the light of the world, that enlightens every man that cometh into the world; and yet persecute them that bear witness and give testimony to this light. Ye profess that the word is become flesh, and

yet persecute them that witness it so. Ye profess that whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is an antichrist; and yet persecute them that do confess him come in the flesh, and call them antichrists and deceivers. Ye profess that the kingdom of Christ is come; and yet persecute them that witness it come. Ye profess Christ Jesus, the resurrection and the life; and yet persecute them that witness him to be so. If ye say, how shall we know that these people who say they witness these things, do so, or no? I answer, turn your minds to the light, which Christ Jesus hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all; and if ye walk in the light, ye shall have the light of life, and then ye will know and see what ye have done, who have persecuted the Lord of glory (in his people) in whom is life, and the life is the light of men. To no other touchstone shall we turn you, but into your own consciences, and there shall ye find the truth of what we have declared unto you, and of what we bear testimony to, according to the holy scriptures. And when the books of consciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then shall ye witness us to be of God, and our testimony to be true; though now ye may stop your ears, and harden your hearts, while it is called to-day: but then ye shall know what ye have done, and whom ye have transgressed against; and then ye will see that no persecutors, in any age or generation that ever went before you, did ever transgress against that light, and measure of God made manifest, in such manner as ye have done. For though Christ and the apostles were persecuted in their times, the Jews (for the most part of them) did not know that he was the Christ, when he came, notwithstanding that they had the scriptures, which prophesied of him; neither did they believe that he was risen again, when the apostles preached his resurrection. But ye say, ye believe he is come; and ye say ye believe in his resurrection; and yet ye persecute those that witness him come in the flesh, those that are buried with him in baptism, those that are conformable to his death, and know the power of his resurrection, those ye persecute, those ye hale before magistrates, and suffer to be beaten in your synagogues; those ye cause to be whipped, and stocked, and shamefully entreated, and into prison cast, and kept; as many jails in this nation at this day testify to your faces. Therefore honestly consider what ye are doing, while ye are taking notice of others' cruelties, lest ye overlook your own. There is some difference in many things, between the Popish religion and that which ye call the Protestant, but in this persecution

of yours there is no difference; for ye will confess that the foundation of your religion is grounded upon the scriptures; and yet now ye are persecuting them that be in the same life which they were in, who spake forth the scriptures, yourselves being the mean while under a profession of the words they spake: and this ye shall one day witness. So ye have a profession and form, and persecute them that are in the possession, life, and power. Therefore know assuredly that ye must come to judgment; for he is made manifest, to whom all judgment is committed. Therefore to the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences, which searcheth and trieth you, turn your minds, and stand still, and wait there to receive the righteous law, which is according to that of God in the conscience, which is now rising, and is bearing witness against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men; and they whom ye persecute are manifest to God, and that of God in all consciences shall bear witness for us, that we are of God: and this ye shall one day witness, whether ye will hear or forbear. Our rejoicing is in the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly sincerity (not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God) we have had our conversation in the world, not handling the word of God deceitfully, but in the manifestation of the truth; commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God: and if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost. And for the witnessing the holding the mystery of faith in a pure conscience, we do suffer, and are subject for conscience sake. This is thank-worthy, if a man, for conscience-sake, endure griefs and suffering wrongfully. And in this is our joy and rejoicing, having a good conscience, that whereas we are evil-spoken of, as evil-doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse our good conversation in Christ; which is not only the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this we witness made manifest, (eternal praises to the living God) and bear testimony to that which spake it in the apostle in life and power; and therefore do we bear witness and testify against those, who, being got into a form and profession of it, do persecute the life and power. Therefore to the eternal light of Christ Jesus, the searcher and trier of all hearts, turn your minds, and see what ye are doing; lest ye overturn your foundation and bottom, whereon ye pretend to stand, while ye are professing the scriptures, and persecuting the life, light, and power, which they were in who gave them forth. For the stone, cut out of the mountains

without hands, is now striking at the feet of the image, the profession, which is set up, and stands in the will of man. Now is that made manifest unto which all must answer, and appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men, but we are made manifest unto God, and shall be made manifest in all your consciences, which ye shall witness.' G. F.

Divers times, both in the time of the Long Parliament, and of the Protector (so called) and of the Committee of Safety, when they proclaimed fasts, I was moved to write to them, and tell them their fasts were like unto Jesabel's: for commonly when they proclaimed fasts, there was some mischief contrived against us: and I knew their fasts were for strife and debate, to smite with the fist of wickedness; as the New England professors soon after did, who, before they put our friends to death, proclaimed a fast also.

Now was it a time of great suffering, and many friends being in prisons, many other friends were moved to go to the parliament, to offer up themselves to lie in the same dungeons where their friends lay, that they that were in prison might go forth, and not perish in the stinking dungeons and jails. And this we did in love to God and our brethren, that they might not die in prison; and in love to them that cast them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads, which we knew would cry to the Lord, and bring his wrath, vengeance, and plagues upon them. But little favour could we find from those professing parliaments; but instead thereof they would be in a rage, and sometimes threaten those friends that thus attended them, that they would whip them, and send them home. Then commonly soon after the Lord would turn them out, and send them home; who had not an heart to do good in the day of their power. But they went not off without being forewarned, for I was moved to write to them, in their several turns, as I did to the long parliament, unto whom I declared, before they were broken up, that thick darkness was coming over them all, even a day of darkness that should be felt.

And because the parliament that now sate was made up mostly of high professors, who pretended to be more religious than others, were indeed greater persecutors of them that were truly religious, I was moved to send them the following lines, as a reproof of their hypocrisy:

‘ O friends, do not cloak and cover yourselves ; there is a God that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. He seeth your way : woe be to him that covereth, but not with my Spirit, saith the Lord. Do ye do contrary to the law, and then put it from you. Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, what was spoken against such : my Saviour spake against such : “ I was sick, and ye visited me not ; I was hungry, and ye fed me not ; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in ; I was in prison, and ye visited me not.” But they said, “ When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee ? ” “ Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me.” Friends, ye prison them that be in the life and power of truth, and yet profess to be the ministers of Christ. But if Christ had sent you, ye would bring out of prison, and out of bondage, and receive strangers. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton ; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter : ye have condemned, and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.’

G. F.

After this, as I was going out of town, having two friends with me, when we were gone little more than a mile out of the city, there met us two troopers belonging to colonel Hacker’s regiment, and they took me and the friends that were with me, and brought us back to the mews, and there kept us prisoners a little while. But the Lord’s power was so over them that they did not have us before any officer, but after awhile set us at liberty again. The same day, taking a boat, I went down to Kingston, and from thence went afterward toward Hampton Court, to speak with the Protector about the sufferings of friends. I met him riding into Hampton Court Park, and before I came at him, as he rode in the head of his life-guard, I saw and felt a waft (or apparition) of death go forth against him ; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of friends before him, and had warned him, according as I was moved to speak to him, he bid me come to his house. So I went back to Kingston, and the next day went up to Hampton Court again, to have spoken further with him. But when I came, he was sick, and ——— Harvey, who was one that waited on him, told me the doctors were not willing I should come in to speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him any more.

From Kingston I went to Isaac Penington’s, in Buck-

inghamshire, where I had appointed a meeting, and the Lord's truth and power was preciously manifested amongst us. After I had visited friends in those parts, I returned to London, and soon after went into Essex, where I had not been long before I heard that the Protector was dead, and his son Richard made Protector in his room. Whereupon I came up to London again.

And before this time the church-faith (so called) was given forth, which was said to be made at the Savoy in eleven days time. I got a copy of it before it was published, and writ an answer to it; and when their book of church-faith was sold up and down the streets, my answer to it was sold also. This angered some of the parliament men, so that one of them told me they must have me to Smithfield. I told him I was over their fires, and feared them not. And reasoning with him, I wished him to consider, had all people been without a faith these sixteen hundred years, that now the priests must make them one? Did not the apostle say, that Jesus was the author and finisher of their faith? And since Christ Jesus was the author of the apostles' faith, and of the church's faith in the primitive times, and of the martyrs' faith, should not all people look unto him to be the author and finisher of their faith, and not unto the priests? A great deal of work we had about the priests' made faith; for they called us house-creeper, leading silly women captive, because we met in houses, and would not hold up their priests and temples, which they had made and set up. But I told them that it was they that led silly women captive, and crept into houses, who kept people always learning under them, who were covetous, and had got a form of godliness, but denied the power and spirit which the apostles were in. Such began to creep in the apostles' days; but now they had got the magistrates on their side, who upheld those houses for them, which they had crept into, their temples, with their tithes: whereas the apostles brought people off from even that temple, and those tithes and offerings which God had for a time commanded. And the apostles met in several private houses, being to preach the gospel to all nations, which they did freely, as Christ had commanded them. And so do we, who bring people off from these priests, temples, and tithes (which God never commanded) to meet in houses, or on mountains, as the saints of old did, who were gathered in the name of Jesus; and Christ was their prophet, priest, and shepherd.

There was present with the parliament man that I discoursed with, one major Wiggan, a very envious man, yet he

bridled himself before the parliament man, and some others that were there in company. He took upon him to make a speech, and said Christ had taken away the guilt of sin, but had left the power of sin remaining in us. I told him that was strange doctrine, for Christ came to destroy the devil and his works, and the power of sin, and so to cleanse men from sin.

So major Wiggan's mouth was stopped at that time. But the next day, desiring to speak with me again, I took a friend or two with me, and went to him. Then he vented a great deal of passion and rage, beyond the bounds of a Christian or moral man; whereupon I was made to reprove him. And having brought the Lord's power over him, and let him see what condition he was in, I left him.

After some time I passed out of London, and had a meeting at serjeant Birkhead's at Twickenham, to which many people came, and some of considerable quality in the world. A glorious meeting it was, wherein the scriptures were largely and clearly opened, and Christ exalted above all, to the great satisfaction of the hearers.

But there was great persecution in many places, both by imprisoning and breaking up of meetings. At a meeting about seven miles from London, the rude people usually came out of several parishes round about, to abuse friends, and did often beat and bruise them exceedingly. One day they beat and abused about eighty friends, that went to that meeting out of London, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs, and throwing them into ditches and ponds, and when they had besmeared them with dirt, then they said they looked like witches. The next first-day after this, I was moved of the Lord to go to that meeting, though at that time I was very weak. When I came there I bid friends bring a table, and set it in the close, where they used to meet, to stand upon. According to their wonted course, the rude people came, and I having a bible in my hand, shewed them theirs and their priests' and teachers' fruits: and the people came to be ashamed, and were quiet. And so I opened the scriptures to them, and our principles agreeing therewith, and I turned the people from the darkness to the light of Christ and his Spirit, by which they might understand the scriptures, and see themselves and their sins, and know Christ Jesus to be their Saviour. So the meeting ended quietly, and the Lord's power came over all, to his glory. But it was a time of great sufferings; for besides the imprisonments (through which many died in prisons) our meetings were greatly disturbed; for they have thrown rotten eggs and wild-fire

into our meetings, and have brought in drums beating, and kettles, to make noises with, that the truth might not be heard; and among these, the priests as rude as any: as may be seen in the book of the fighting priests, wherein a list is given of some of the priests that had actually beaten and abused friends.

Many also of our friends were brought up to London prisoners, to be tried before the committee, where Henry Vane being chairman, would not suffer friends to come in, except they would put off their hats: but at last the Lord's power came over him, so that, through the mediation of some others that persuaded him, they were admitted. Now many of us having been imprisoned upon contempts (as they called them) for not putting off our hats, it was not a likely thing that friends, who had suffered so long for it from others, should put off their hats to him. But the Lord's power came over them all, and wrought so, that several friends were set at liberty by them. Now inasmuch as sufferings grew very sharp, I was moved of the Lord to write a few lines, and send abroad amongst friends, to encourage them to go on faithfully and boldly, through the exercises of the day; of which a copy here follows:

‘My dear friends every where abroad scattered, in prison or out of prison, fear not, because of the reports of sufferings; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and that there be Anakims in the land; for at the blowing of the rams' horns did the walls of Jericho fall down; and they that brought the evil report perished in the wilderness. But dwell ye in the faith, patience, and hope, having the Word of Life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and having the oath of God, his covenant, Christ Jesus, which divides the waters asunder, and makes them to run all on heaps; in that stand: and ye will see all things work together for good, to them that love God. And in that triumph, when sufferings come, whatever they may be. Your faith, your shield, your helmet, your armour, you have on; ye are ready to skip over a mountain, or a wall, or an hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be heaps upon heaps. For the evil spies of the good land may preach up hardness; but Caleb, which signifies an heart, and Joshua, a Saviour, triumph over all.’

G. F.

Now after awhile I passed into the country, and went to Reading, and was there under great sufferings and exer-

cises, and in a great travail in my spirit for about ten weeks time; for I saw there was great confusion and distraction amongst the people, and that the powers were plucking each other to pieces. And I saw how many men were destroying the simplicity, and betraying the truth, and a great deal of hypocrisy, and deceit, and strife, were got uppermost in the people, so that they were ready to sheath their swords in one another's bowels. There had been a tenderness in many of them formerly, when they were low, but when they were got up, and had killed, and taken possession, they came to be as bad as others; so that we had much to do with them about our hats, and saying thou and thee to them. For they turned their profession of patience and moderation into rage and madness; and many of them would be like distracted men for this hat-honour. For they had hardened themselves by persecuting the innocent, and were at this time crucifying the Seed, Christ, both in themselves and others; till at last they fell a biting and devouring one another, until they were consumed one of another; who had turned against, and judged, that which God had wrought in them, and shewed unto them. So shortly after God overthrew them, and turned them upside down, and brought the king over them, who were often surmising that the Quakers met together to bring in king Charles, (when as friends did not concern themselves with the outward powers, or government). But at last the Lord brought him in, and many of them (when they saw he would be brought in) voted for the bringing him in. So with heart and voice praise the name of the Lord, to whom it doth belong; who over all hath the supremacy, and who will rock the nations, for he is over them. Now I had a sight and sense of the king's return a good while before, and so had some others. I writ to Oliver several times, and let him know that while he was persecuting God's people, they whom he accounted his enemies were preparing to come upon him. And when some forward spirits that came amongst us would have bought Somerset-house, that we might have meetings in it, I forbid them to do so: for I did then foresee the king's coming in again. Besides, there came a woman to me in the Strand, who had a prophesy concerning king Charles's coming in, three years before he came; and she told me, she must go to him to declare it. I advised her to wait upon the Lord, and keep it to herself; for if it should be known that she went on such a message, they would look upon it to be treason: but she said she must go, and tell him that he should be brought into England

again. I saw her prophesy was true, and that a great stroke must come upon them in power; for they that had then gotten possession were so exceeding high, and such great persecution was acted by them, who called themselves saints, that they would take from friends their copyhold-lands, because they could not swear in their courts. And sometimes when we laid these sufferings before Oliver Cromwell, he would not believe it. Wherefore Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson were moved to go through all the jails in England, and to get copies of friends commitments under the jailers' hands, that they might lay the weight of friend's sufferings upon Oliver Cromwell. And when he would not give order for the releasing of them, Thomas Aldam was moved to take his cap from off his head, and to rend it in pieces before him, and to say unto him, 'So shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house.' Another friend also, a woman, was moved to go to the parliament (that was envious against friends) with a pitcher in her hand, which she brake into pieces before them, and told them, so should they be broken to pieces; which came to pass shortly after. And in my great suffering and travail of spirit for the nation, being grievously burdened, and almost choaked with their hypocrisy, treachery and falseness, I saw God would bring that a top of them, which they had been a top of; and that all must be brought down to that which did convince them, before they could get over that bad spirit within and without: for it is the pure invisible spirit, that doth and only can work down all deceit in people.

Now while I was under that sore travail at Reading, by reason of grief and sorrow of mind, and the great exercise that was upon my spirit, my countenance was altered, and I looked poor and thin; and there came a company of unclean spirits to me, and told me the plagues of God were upon me; but I told them, it was the same spirit spake that in them, that said so of Christ when he was stricken and smitten, they hid their face from him. But when I had travailed with the witness of God, which they had quenched, and had gotten through with it, and over all that hypocrisy which the outside professors were run into, and saw how that would be brought down and turned under, and that life would rise over it, I came to have ease, and the light, power and Spirit shined over all. And then having recovered, and got through my travails and sufferings, my body and face swelled when I came abroad into the air; and then the bad spirits said I was grown fat, and they envied at that also: so I saw, that no con-

dition nor state would please that spirit of theirs. But the Lord preserved me by his power and Spirit through and over all, and in the Lord's power I came to London again.

Now was there a great pudder made about the image or effigies of Oliver Cromwell lying in state, men standing and sounding with trumpets over his image after he was dead. At this my spirit was greatly grieved, and the Lord I found was highly offended. Then did I write the following lines unto them, and sent among them to reprove their wickedness, and warn them to repent:

'Oh friends, what are ye doing! and what mean ye to sound before an image! Will not all sober people think ye are like mad people? Oh, how am I grieved with your abominations! Oh, how am I wearied! My soul is wearied with you, saith the Lord: will I not be avenged of you, think ye, for your abominations? Oh, how have ye plucked down and set up! Oh, how are your hearts made whole and not rent! And how are ye turned to fooleries! Which things in times past, ye stood over; therefore, how have ye left my dread, saith the Lord! O, therefore fear and repent, lest the snare and the pit take you all. The great day of the Lord is come upon all your abominations, and the swift hand of the Lord is turned against them all. The sober people in the nations stand amazed at your doings, and are ashamed, as if ye would bring in popery.'

G. F.

About this time great stirs were in the nation, the minds of people being unsettled, and much plotting and contriving there was by the several factions, to carry on their several interests. And a great care being upon me, lest any young or raw people, that might sometimes come amongst us, should be drawn into that snare, I was moved to give forth the following epistle as a warning unto all such:

'All friends every where, keep out of plots and bustling, and the arm of flesh, for all that is amongst Adam's sons in the fall, where they are destroying men's lives like dogs, and beasts, and swine, goaring, rending, and biting one another, and destroying one another, and wrestling with flesh and blood. From whence arise wars and killing but from the lusts? Now all this is in Adam in the fall, out of Adam that never fell, in whom there is peace and life. Ye are called to peace, therefore follow it; and that

peace is in Christ, not in Adam in the fall. All that pretend to fight for Christ they are deceived, for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight. Therefore fighters are not of Christ's kingdom, but are without Christ's kingdom, for his kingdom stands in peace and righteousness; but fighters are in the lust, and all that would destroy men's lives are not of Christ's mind, who came to save men's lives. Christ's kingdom is not of this world, it is peaceable; and all that be in strife are not of his kingdom: and all that pretend to fight for the gospel are deceived; for the gospel is the power of God, which was before the devil or fall of man was, and the gospel of peace was before fighting was. Therefore they that pretend fighting and talk of fighting so, are ignorant of the gospel; and all that talk of fighting for Sion are in darkness, for Sion needs no such helpers: and all such as profess themselves to be ministers of Christ, or Christians, and go about to beat down the whore with outward carnal weapons, the flesh and the whore are got up in themselves, and they are in a blind zeal; for the whore got up by the inward ravening from the Spirit of God, and the beating down of the whore must be by the inward stroke of the sword of the Spirit within. All such as pretend Christ Jesus and confess him, and yet run into the use of carnal weapons, wrestling with flesh and blood, throw away the spiritual weapons. They that would be wrestlers with flesh and blood throw away Christ's doctrine, and flesh is got upon them, and they are weary of their sufferings: and such as would revenge themselves be out of Christ's doctrine: and such as being stricken on the one cheek would not turn the other, be out of Christ's doctrine: and such as do not love one another and love enemies, be out of Christ's doctrine. Therefore ye that be heirs of the blessings of God, which were before the curse and the fall was, come to inherit your portions; and ye that be heirs of the gospel of peace, which was before the devil was, live in the gospel of peace, seeking the peace of all men, and the good of all men; and live in Christ, who came to save men's lives out of Adam in the fall, where they destroy men's lives and live not in him. For the Jews' sword outwardly, by which they cut down the heathen, was a type of the Spirit of God within, which cuts down the heathenish nature within. So live in the peaceable kingdom of Christ Jesus, and live in the peace of God, and not in the lusts, from whence wars arise, and live in Christ, the Prince of Peace, the way of God, who is the second Adam, that never fell; but live not in Adam

in the fall, in the destruction, where they destroy one another. Therefore come out of Adam in the fall, into the Adam that never fell, and so live in love and peace with all men; and keep out of all the bustlings in the world, and meddle not with the powers of the earth, but mind the kingdom, the way of peace. Ye that be heirs of grace, and heirs of the kingdom, and heirs of the gospel, and heirs of salvation, and saints of the Most High, and children of God, whose conversations are in heaven, that is above the combustions of the earth, let your conversation preach to all men, and your innocent lives, that they which speak evil of you, beholding your godly conversation, may glorify your Father which is in heaven. And all friends every where this I charge you, which is the word of the Lord God unto you all, Live in peace, in Christ the way of peace, and therein seek the peace of all men and no man's hurt. As I said before, in Adam in the fall is no peace; but in Adam out of the fall, in him is the peace: so ye being in Adam which never fell, it is love that overcomes, and not hatred with hatred, nor strife with strife. Therefore live all in the peaceable life, doing good to all men, and seeking the good and welfare of all men.'

G. F.

It was not long after this before George Booth rose in arms in Cheshire, and Lambert went down against him. At which time some foolish rash spirits, that came sometimes amongst us, were ready to have taken up arms; but I was moved of the Lord to warn them, and forbid them, and they were quiet. In the time of the Committee of Safety (so called), we were invited by them to have taken up arms, and great places and commands were offered some of us; but we denied them all, and declared against it both by word and writing; testifying that our weapons and armour were not carnal, but spiritual. And lest any that came amongst us should be drawn into that snare, it came upon me from the Lord, to write a few lines on that occasion, and send them forth as a caution to all amongst us; of which this is a copy:

'All friends every where, take heed to keep out of the powers of the earth, that run into the wars and fightings, which make not for peace, but go from that; such will not have the kingdom. And friends, take heed of joining with this or the other, or meddling with any, or being busy with other men's matters, but mind the Lord, and his power, and his service: and so let friends keep out of

other men's matters, and keep in that which answers the witness in them all, out of the man's-matters-part, where they must expect wars and the dishonour. And all friends every where, dwell in your own, in the power of the Lord God, to keep your minds up to the Lord God, from falling down to the strength of Egypt, or going thither for strength after ye are come out of it, like the children of Israel after they were come out of outward Egypt. But dwell in the power of the Lord God, that ye may keep over all the powers of the earth, amongst whom the just hand of God is come; for they have turned against the just, and disobeyed the just in their own particulars, and so gone on in one against the just, therefore the just sets them one against another. Now he that goes to help among them, is from the just in himself, in the mad and unstaidd state, and doth not know by the all-seeing Eye, (that beholdeth) him that recompenseth and rewardeth, and lives not in the hand, in the power, that mangles and overturns, which vexeth the transgressors, that come to be blind, and zealous for they do not know what. Therefore keep in peace, and in the love and power of God, and in unity and love one to another, lest any go out and fall with the uncircumcised: that is, they that are from the Spirit in themselves, and they that go from it, go into the pit together. Therefore stand in that (it is the word of the Lord God to you all) in the fear and dread of the Lord God, his power, life, light, seed and wisdom, by which ye may take away the occasion of wars, and so know a kingdom which hath no end, and fight for that with spiritual weapons, which takes away the occasion of the carnal; and there gather men to war, as many as ye can, and set up as many as ye can with these weapons.'

G. F.

Now after I had staid some time in London, and had visited friends' meetings there and thereabouts, and the Lord's power was set over all, I travelled into the countries again, passing through Essex and Suffolk into Norfolk, visiting friends, till I came to Norwich, where we had a meeting about the time called Christmas. The mayor of Norwich having got notice before-hand of the meeting I intended to have there, granted out a warrant to apprehend me. Wherefore when I was come thither, and heard of the warrant, I sent some friends to the mayor to reason with him about it. His answer was, the soldiers should not meet, and did we think to meet? He would have had us gone out and met without the city; for he said,

the town's people were so rude that he could hardly order them, and he feared, that our meeting would make tumults in the town; but our friends told him, we were a peaceable people, and that he ought to keep the peace, for we could not but meet to worship God, as our manner was. So he became pretty moderate, and did send his officers to the meeting. A large meeting it was, and abundance of rude people came, with an intent to have done mischief; but the Lord's power came over them, so that they were chained by it, though several priests were there, and professors and ranters. Among the priests, one, whose name was Townsend, stood up and cried, 'Error, blasphemy, and an ungodly meeting.' I bad him not burden himself with that which he could not make good, and I asked him what was our error and blasphemy; for I told him, he should make good his words before I had done with him, or be shamed. As for an ungodly meeting, I said, I did believe there were many people there that feared God, and therefore it was both unchristian and uncivil in him, to charge civil godly people with an ungodly meeting. He said, my error and blasphemy was, in that I said, that people must wait upon God by his power and Spirit, and feel his presence when they did not speak words; I asked him then, whether the apostles and holy men of God did not hear God speak to them in their silence, before they spake forth the scripture, and before it was written? he replied Yes, David and the prophets did hear God before they did pen the scriptures, and felt his presence in silence before they spake them forth. Then said I, All people take notice, he said this was error and blasphemy in me to say these words, and now he hath confessed it is no more than the holy men of God in former times witnessed. So I shewed the people, that as the holy men of God who gave forth the scripture as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, did hear and learn of God before they spake them forth; so must they all hearken and hear what the Spirit saith, which will lead them into all truth, that they may know God and Christ, and may understand the scriptures. O said the priest, this is not that George Fox I would speak withal, this is a subtle man, said he. So the Lord's power came over all, and the rude people were made moderate, and were reached by it; and some professors that were there, called to the priests, saying, 'Prove the blasphemy and errors which ye have charged them with; ye have spoken much against them behind their backs, but nothing ye can prove now (said they) to their faces:' but the priest began to get away; whereupon I told him, we had many

things to charge him withal, therefore let him set a time and place to answer them, which he did, and went his ways. A glorious day this was, for truth came over all, and people were turned to God by his power and Spirit, and to the Lord Jesus Christ their free teacher, who was exalted over all. And as we passed away, generally people's hearts were filled with love towards us; yea, the ruder sort of them desired another meeting, for the evil intentions that they had against us, were thrown out of their hearts. At night I passed out of town to a friend's house, and from thence to colonel Dennis's, where we had a great meeting; and afterwards travelled on through the countries, visiting friends up and down in Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire. But George Whitehead and Richard Huberthorn staid about Norwich to meet the priest, who was soon confounded and down, the Lord's power came so over him.

After I had travelled through many countries in the Lord's service, and many were convinced, notwithstanding that in some places the people were very rude, I returned to London again, when general Monk was come up thither, and the gates and posts of the city were pulling down. Long before this I had a vision, wherein I saw the city lie in heaps and the gates down; and it was then represented to me, just as I saw it several years after, lying in heaps, when it was burned.

Divers times had I, both by word and writing, forewarned the several powers, both in Oliver's time and after, of the day of recompense that was coming upon them; but they rejecting counsel, and slighting those visitations of love to them, I was moved now, before they were quite overturned, to lay their backsliding, hypocrisy, and treacherous dealing before them, thus:

‘ Friends, now are the prophecies fulfilled and fulfilling upon you, which have been spoken to you by the people of God in your courts, in your steeple-houses, in your towns, cities, markets, highways, and at your feasts, when ye were in your pleasures and puffed up, that ye would neither hear God nor man; when ye were in your highness and height of authority, though raised up from a mean state, none might come nigh you without bowing, or the respect of persons, for ye were in the world's way, compliments and fashions, which, for conscience sake towards God they could not go into, being redeemed therefrom; therefore they were by you hated for that cause. But how are ye to be brought low who exalted yourselves above your brethren,

and threw the just and harmless from among you, until at last God hath thrown you out; and when ye cast the innocent from among you, then ye fell a biting one another until ye were consumed one of another. And so the day is come upon you, which before to you was told, though before ye would not believe it. And are not yet your hearts so hardened, that ye will hardly yet believe, though ready to go into captivity? Was it not told you, when ye spilt the blood of the innocent in your steeple-houses, in your markets, in your highways and cities, yea, and even in your courts also, because they said the word thou to you, and could not put off their hats to you, that if something did not arise up amongst yourselves, to avenge the blood of the innocent, there would come something from beyond the seas, which lay reserved there, which being brought by the arm of God, the arm of flesh and strongest mountain cannot withstand? Yet ye would not consider, nor regard, nor hear; but cried, peace, peace, and feasted yourselves, and sate down in the spoil of your enemies, being treacherous both to God and man, and who will trust you now? Have ye not taken covenants and oaths? and broken covenants and oaths betwixt God and man, and made the nations breakers both of covenants and oaths, so that nothing but hypocrisy, and rottenness, and falshood under fair pretence was amongst you? When ye pretended to set up the old cause, it was but yourselves, for which ye long stunk to sober people, who saw that no good ye would do. But it was a joy for any of you to get up into authority, that ye might have praise, and honour, and respect, and they that were in the self-denial were a derision to you, from amongst whom that was banished. Thus ye became the nation's masters and not servants, whereas the greatest of all should be the servants of all. But there ye lost your authority, not considering your estates from whence ye were, and to what end God had raised you up, but forgot the Lord, and quenched that which was good in yourselves, and persecuted them that lived in it; and so are grown so gross and perverse, that at last ye are fit for neither God nor man. Have not ye used to call the Quakers the fanatic people, and the giddy heads? But whither now are ye giddy? into Cain's city Nod, which signifies fugitive or wandering? Have not ye persecuted and imprisoned to death, such as God had respect to, and is now reproving you for their sakes, by them whom ye have hated? Were not many amongst you cut off for your persecution, and yet the rest of you would not take warning? Was there not a book of examples set out

unto you, of what sudden and strange deaths happened upon the persecutors of the innocent? And yet ye would not take warning, until the overflowing scourge is now coming upon you. Are not ye they that have killed like Cain, who have killed about your sacrifice, and mingled the blood of the innocent with it? Hath not God now vagabonded you, that ye should become a curse upon the earth, who have persecuted friends to death? Did not the blood of the righteous cry out of the ground for vengeance? And will not the blood of the righteous be required! Could ye think that the Lord would let you sit always with bloody hands and fists of wickedness? Ah! what is become of all your feasts and your fasts, the prayers and blessings of your priests?’

G. F.

Being now clear of the city, and finding my spirit drawn to visit friends in the western parts of England, I went out of town; and passing first into Surrey and Sussex, came to a great town where there was a large meeting, to which several friends from Reading came, and a blessed meeting it was. The priest of the town was in a great rage, but did not come out of his house; wherefore, hearing him make a great noise in his house as we were passing from the meeting, we bid him come out into the street and we would discourse with him, but he would not. So the Lord's power being over all, friends were refreshed in the Lord's power and truth. From thence I went to another market-town, where in the evening we had a precious meeting, and the fresh sense of the presence of the Lord God was sweetly felt amongst us. Then turning into Hampshire and Dorsetshire, I went to Ringwood and Pool visiting friends in the Lord's power, and had great meetings amongst them.

At Dorchester we had a great meeting in the evening at our inn, to which many soldiers came and were pretty civil. But the constables and officers of the town came, under pretence to look for a jesuit, whose head (they said) was shaved; and they would have all to put off their hats, or else they would take them off, to look for the jesuit's shaven crown. So they took off my hat (for I was the man they aimed at) and they looked very narrowly, but not finding any bald or shaven place on my head they went away with shame, and the soldiers and other sober people were greatly offended with them. But it was of good service for the Lord, and all things wrought together for good, for it affected the people; and after the officers were

gone we had a fine meeting, and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher, who had bought them, and would reconcile them to God.

From thence we passed into Somersetshire, where the presbyterians and other professors were very wicked, and often used to disturb friends' meetings. One time especially (as we were then informed) there was a very wicked man, whom they had got to come to the Quakers' meeting; this man put a bear's skin on his back, and undertook with that to play pranks in the Quakers' meeting. Accordingly, setting himself just opposite to the friend that was speaking, he lolled his tongue out of his mouth, having his bear's skin on his back, and so made sport to his wicked followers, and caused a great disturbance in the meeting. But an eminent judgment overtook him, and his punishment slumbered not; for as he went back from the meeting, there was a bull-baiting in the way which he staid to see, and coming within the bull's reach, the bull struck his horn under the man's chin into his throat, and struck his tongue out of his mouth, so that it hung lolling out, as he had used it before in derision in the meeting: and the bull's horn running up into the man's head, he swung him about upon his horn in a most remarkable and fearful manner. Thus he that came to do mischief amongst God's people was mischieved himself; and well would it be, if such apparent examples of Divine vengeance would teach others to beware.

We travelled through Somersetshire and Devonshire, till we came to Plymouth, and so went up into Cornwall, visiting the meetings of friends till we came to Land's End. Many precious and blessed meetings we had, all along through the countries as we went, wherein they that were convinced were established, and many others were added to them. At the Land's End in Cornwall there was an honest fisherman convinced, who became a faithful minister of Christ; I took notice of him to friends, and told them he was like Peter.

While I was in Cornwall there were great shipwrecks about the Land's End. Now it was the custom of that country, that at such a time both rich and poor went out, to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to save the people's lives; and in some parts of the country, they called shipwrecks, God's grace. These things troubled me and grieved my spirit, to hear of such unchristian actions, considering how far they were below the heathen at Melita, who received Paul and made him a fire, and were courteous towards him and them that had suffered ship-

wreck with him. Wherefore I was moved to write a paper, and send it to all the parishes, priests, and magistrates, high and low, to reprove them for such greedy actions, and to warn and exhort them, that if they could assist to save people's lives and preserve their ships and goods, they should use their diligence therein, and consider, if it had been their own condition they would judge it hard, if they should be upon a wreck, and people should strive to get what they could from them and not matter their lives. A copy of that paper here follows :

‘ All friends and people,

‘ Take heed of greediness and covetousness, for that is idolatry; and the idolater must not enter into the kingdom of God. Take heed of drunkenness, and oaths, and cursings, for such are destroyers of the creation, and make it to groan. Lay away all fightings, and quarrellings, and brawlings, and evil speakings, which are the works of the flesh and not of the Spirit; for who follow such things are not like to have the kingdom of God. Put away all corrupt words which be unsavoury, and misnaming one another; for ye must give an account for every idle word. Lay aside all profession and religion that is vain, and come to the possession and the pure religion, which is to visit the fatherless, the widow, and the stranger, and receive them; for some thereby may entertain angels unawares, and the servants of the Lord, as Paul was entertained after the shipwreck at Melita. And do not ye take people's goods from them by force out of their ships, which be the seamen's or others, neither covet ye after them; but rather endeavour to preserve their lives and their goods for them, for that shews a spirit of compassion, and a spirit of a Christian. But if ye be greedy and covetous after other men's goods, not mattering what becomes of the men, would ye be served so yourselves? If ye should have a ship cast away in other places, and the people should come to tear the goods and ship in pieces, not regarding to save the men's lives, but be ready to fight one with another for your goods, do not ye believe such goods would become a curse to them? And may ye not as well believe, such kind of actions will become a curse unto you? When the spoil of one ship's goods is idly spent, and consumed upon the lusts, in ale-houses, taverns, and otherwise, then ye gape for another. Is this to do as ye would be done by, which is the law and the prophets? Therefore, priest Hull, are these thy fruits? What dost thou take people's labour and goods for? Hast thou taught the people no better manners and conversation,

who are so brutish and beathenish? Now all such things we judge in whomsoever. But if any friend, or others, do preserve men's lives, and endeavour to save their goods and estates, and restore what they can save of a wreck to the owners; and then if we consider them for their labour, doing in that case unto them, what they would have done unto themselves, that we own. And if they buy or sell, and do not make a prey, that is allowed of still, in the way of doing as ye would be done by, keeping to the law and to the prophets: that is, that if ye should be in another country, ye would have other people to save your lives and goods, and have your goods restored to you again, and you to consider them for so doing. All ye, that do otherwise, that wait for a wreck and get the goods for yourselves, not regarding the lives of the men; but if any of them escape drowning, let them go a begging up and down the country, and if any escape with a little, sometimes they are robbed of it in the country: all such that do so, are not for the preserving of the creation, but for the destroying of it; and those goods which are so gotten, shall be a curse, and a plague, and a judgment to them, and them the judgments of God will follow for acting such things; the witness in your consciences shall answer it. Therefore all ye who have done such things, do so no more, lest a worse thing come unto you: but that which is good do, to preserve men's lives and estates, and labour to restore the loss and breach, that the Lord requires. Be not like a company of greedy dogs, and worse than heathens, as if ye had never heard tell of God, nor Christ, nor the scriptures, nor pure religion. And priest Hull, have people spent their money upon thee, for that which is no bread; for a thing of nought, that thou hast such fruits? All such teachers that make a trade of the scriptures, (which are given forth from the spirit of God, to be believed, and read, and practised, and Christ, whom they testify of, enjoyed) we utterly deny, who own Christ and are come off from all your steeple-houses, which were the old mass houses; for there are their bad fruits harboured, those are the cages of them. But come to the church which is in God, (1 Thess. 1.) and come all to the light, which Christ Jesus hath enlightened you withal, which shews you all the ungodly words ye have spoken, the ungodly thoughts which ye have thought, the ungodly actions which ye have done. This will be your teacher if ye love it; your condemnation if ye hate it; for the mighty day of the Lord is coming upon all wickedness and ungodliness; therefore your whoredoms and fornications lay aside. And ye magis-

trates who are to do justice, think ye not, that the hand of the Lord God is against you, and that his judgments will come upon you, who do not look after these things and stop them with the law, which is, to do unto all men, as they would have done unto them, whereby ye might be a good savour in your country? Is not the law to preserve men's lives and estates, doing unto all men, as they would men should do unto them? For all men would have their lives and estates preserved; therefore, should not ye preserve others, and not suffer them to be devoured and destroyed? The evil of these things will lie upon you, both priests and magistrates.'

Postscript.—All dear friends which fear the Lord God, keep out of the ravenous world's spirit, whose spirit is to raven and destroy, which is out of the wisdom of God. That when ships are wrecked, ye do not run to destroy and make havock of ship and goods with the world; but rather, that ye do run to save the men, and the goods for them, and so deny yourselves; and do unto them as ye would they should do unto you.'

G. F.

This paper had a good service among people: and friends have endeavoured much to save the lives of the men in times of wrecks, and to preserve the ships and goods for them. And when some that had suffered shipwreck have been almost dead and starved, some friends have taken them to their houses, to succour them and recover them, which is an act to be practised by all true Christians.

Now turned I back again from the Land's-End, and after I had had many precious and blessed living meetings in Cornwall, several eminent people being convinced in that county, whom neither priests nor magistrates, by spoiling goods or imprisonments, could make to forsake their shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ, that had bought them; and all friends who were turned to Christ their teacher and Saviour, being settled in peace and quietness upon him, their foundation, we left them unto the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching and ordering, fresh and green; and Thomas Lower, who had accompanied me through all that county, brought me over Horse-bridge into Devonshire again. And after several meetings up and down Devonshire, we came into Somersetshire, where we had divers large and peaceable meetings; and so passed through the county, visiting friends, till we came to Bristol.

I came into Bristol on the seventh day of the week, and the day before, the soldiers came with their muskets into the meeting, and were exceeding rude, beating and striking friends with their muskets, and drove them out of the orchard in a great rage, threatening what they would do if friends came there again. For the mayor and the commander of the soldiers had (it seems) combined together to make a disturbance amongst friends. Now when I came to Bristol, and friends told me what a rage there was in the town, how they were threatened by both the mayor and soldiers, and how unruly the soldiers had been to friends the day before, I sent for several friends, as George Bishop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot, and desired them to go to the mayor and aldermen, and desire them, seeing he and they had broke up our meetings, to let friends have the town-hall to meet in; and for the use of it friends would give them twenty pounds a year, to be distributed amongst the poor; and when the mayor and aldermen had business to do in it, friends would not meet in it, but only on the first days. Those friends were astonished at this, and said the mayor and aldermen would think that they were mad: but I said nay, for they should offer them a considerable benefit to the poor. And it was upon me from the Lord to bid them go; and at last they consented, and went, though in the cross to their own wills. When they had laid the thing before the mayor, it came so over him, that he said, for his part he could consent to it, but he was but one: and he told friends of another great hall they might have, but that they did not accept of, it being inconvenient. So friends came away, leaving the mayor in a very loving frame towards them; for they felt the Lord's power had come over him. When they came back, I spake to them to go also to the colonel that commanded the soldiers, and lay before him the rude carriage of his soldiers, how they came armed amongst naked innocent people, who were waiting upon, and worshipping the Lord; but they were backward to go to him. Next morning, being the first day of the week, we went to the meeting in the orchard, where the soldiers had so lately been so rude; and after I had declared the truth a pretty while in the meeting, there came in many rude soldiers and people, some with drawn swords. The inn-keepers had made some of them drunk; and one of them had bound himself with an oath, to cut down and kill the man that spoke. So he came pressing in, through all the crowd of people, to within two yards of me, and stopped at those four friends before mentioned (who should have gone to

the colonel as I would have had them) and fell a jangling with them. On a sudden I saw his sword was put up and gone: for the Lord's power came over all, and chained him and the rest, and we had a blessed meeting, and the Lord's everlasting power and presence was felt amongst us. On the day following, those four friends went and spake with the colonel, and he sent for the soldiers, and cut and slashed some of them before the friends' faces. Which when I heard of, I blamed the friends for letting him do so, and also for that they did not go on the seventh day, as I would have had them, which might have prevented this cutting of the soldiers, and the trouble they gave at our meeting. But thus the Lord's power came over all those persecuting, bloody minds, and the meeting there was settled in peace for a good while after without disturbance.

I had then also a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Bristol, at which it was judged there were divers thousands of people; for besides friends from many parts thereabouts, some of the baptists and independents, with their teachers, came to it, and very many of the sober people of Bristol, insomuch that the people that staid behind said, the city looked naked, there were so many gone out of it to this meeting. It was a very quiet meeting, and many glorious truths were opened to the people, and the Lord Jesus Christ was set up, who was the end of all figures and shadows, and the law, and the first covenant. And it was declared to the people how that all figures and shadows were given to man, after man fell; and how that all the rudiments and inventions of men, which have been set up in Christendom, many of which were Jewish and heathenish ceremonies, were not set up by the command of Christ; and all images and likenesses man has made to himself, or for himself, whether of things in heaven or things in earth, have been, since he lost the image and likeness of God which God made him in. But now Christ was made to redeem, translate, convert and regenerate man out of all these things that he hath set up in the fall, and out of the true types, figures, and shadows also, and out of death and darkness, up into the light, and life, and image and likeness of God again, which man and woman were in before they fell. Therefore all now should come, and all might come to receive Christ Jesus, the substance, by his light, Spirit, grace, and faith; and should live and walk in him the Redeemer and Saviour.

And whereas we had had a great deal of work with the priests and professors, who pleaded for imperfection: I

was opened to declare and manifest unto them, how that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and all that God made, he saw that it was good, and he blessed it. But the imperfection came in by the fall, through man's and woman's hearkening to the devil, who was out of truth. And though the law made nothing perfect, yet it made way for the bringing in of the better hope, which hope is Christ, who destroys the devil and his works, that made man and woman imperfect. Now Christ saith to his disciples, "Be ye perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect:" and he who himself was perfect, comes to make man and woman perfect again, and brings them again to the state which God made them in. So he is the maker up of the breach, and the peace betwixt God and man. That this might the better be understood by the lowest capacities, I used a comparison of two old people, that had their house broken down by an enemy, so that they, with all their children, were liable to all storms and tempests. And there came some to them that pretended to be workmen, and offered to build up their house again, if they would give them so much a year: but when they had gotten their money, they left their house as they found it. After this manner came a first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, each with his several pretence, to build up the old house, and each got the peoples' money; and then cried they could not rear up the house, nor the breach could not be made up; 'for there is no perfection here,' cry they; 'the house can never be perfectly built up again in this life;' though they had taken the peoples' money for the doing of it. For all the sects in Christendom (so called) have pretended to build up Adam's and Eve's fallen house, and when they have got peoples' money, they tell them the work cannot be perfectly done here, and so their house lies as it did. But I told the people Christ was come to do it freely, who, by one offering, hath perfected for ever all them that are sanctified, and renews them up into the image of God, which man and woman were in before they fell, and make man's and woman's house as perfect again as God had made them at the first. And this, Christ, the heavenly man, has done freely. Therefore all are to look unto him, and all that have received him are to walk in him, the life, the substance, the first and the last, the rock of ages, and foundation of many generations. Largely were these, and many other things opened and declared unto the people, and the word of life was preached, which doth live and abide; and all were exhorted to hear and obey that which did live and abide, that by it all might

be born again of the immortal Seed, and feed of the milk of the word. A glorious meeting there was, wherein the Lord's everlasting Seed, Christ Jesus, was set over all, and friends parted in the power and Spirit of the Lord, in peace, and in his truth, that is over all.

About this time the soldiers under general Monk's command, were rude and troublesome at friends' meetings in many places, whereof complaint being made to him, he gave forth the following order, which did somewhat restrain them :

St. James's, the 9th of March, 1659.

' I do require all officers and soldiers, to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the Parliament or Common-wealth of England.'

George Monk.

After this meeting at Edward Pyot's, I passed through the countries to Oldeston, and to Nailsworth, and to Nathaniel Crisp's, where there was a large meeting, and several soldiers at it, but quiet. And from thence we passed through friends to Gloucester, visiting their meetings. And in Gloucester we had a meeting that was peaceable, though the town was very rude, and divided; for one part of the soldiers were for the king, and another for the parliament. And as I passed out of the town, over the bridge, Edward Pyott being with me, the soldiers there said they were for the king; but after we were gone past them, and they understood it was I, they were in a great rage that I had escaped them, and said, had they known it had been I, they would have shot me with hail-shot rather than I should have escaped them. But the Lord prevented their devilish design, and brought me safe to colonel Grimes's house, where we had a large general meeting, and the Lord's truth and power was set over all, and friends were established upon the rock, and settled under the Lord Jesus Christ's teaching.

We passed from thence to Tewkesbury, and so to Worcester, visiting friends in their meetings in the towns as we went. And in all my time I never saw the like drunkenness as in the towns, for they had been then chusing parliament-men. But at Worcester the Lord's truth was set over all, and people were finely settled therein, and friends praised the Lord; nay, I saw the very earth rejoiced: yet great fears and troubles were in many people, and a looking for the king's coming in, and that all things should be altered:

and they would ask me what I thought of times and things. I told them the Lord's power was over all, and his light shined over all; and that the fear would take hold only on the hypocrites, such as had not been faithful to God, and on our persecutors. For in my travail and sufferings at Reading, when people were at a stand, and could not tell what might come in, and who might rule, I told them the Lord's power was over all (for I had travelled through in it) and his day shined, whosoever should come in; and whether the king came in or no, all would be well to them that loved the Lord, and were faithful to him. Therefore I bid all friends fear none but the Lord, and keep in his power that was over all.

From Worcester I came through the countries, visiting friends in their meetings, till I came to Badgley, and from thence I went to Drayton in Leicestershire, to visit my relations. While I was there, one Burton, a justice, hearing that I had a good horse, sent forth a warrant to search for me and my horse, but I was gone before they came, and so he missed of his wicked end. I passed on to Twy-Cross and Swanington, and so to Derby, where I visited friends, and found my old jailer amongst them, who had formerly kept me in the house of correction there, and was now convinced of the truth, which I then suffered under him for. Passing still further up into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, I came to Synderhill-green, visiting friends through all those parts in their meetings, and so passed on to Balby in Yorkshire, where our yearly meeting at that time was holden in a great orchard of John Killams, where it was supposed some thousands of people and friends were gathered together. In the morning I heard that a troop of horse was sent from York, about thirty miles off, to break up our meeting, and that the militia, newly raised, was to join with them. So I went into the meeting, and stood up on a great stool, and after I had spoken some time, two trumpeters came up, sounding their trumpets pretty near me, and the captain of the troop cried 'Divide to the right and left, and make way:' then they rid up to me. Now I was declaring the everlasting truth, and word of life, in the mighty power of the Lord. The captain bid me come down, for he was come (he said) to disperse our meeting. After some time I spake to him, and told him he and they all knew, we were a peaceable people, and that we used to have such great meetings: but if he did question that we met in an hostile way, I desired him to make search among us, and if he found either sword or pistol about any there, let such suffer. He told me he must see us dispersed,

for he came all night on purpose to diperse us. I asked him what honour it would be to him, to ride with swords and pistols amongst so many unarmed men and women as there was? But if he would be still and quiet our meeting probably might not continue above two or three hours; and when it was done, as we came peaceably and civilly together, so we should part: for he might perceive the meeting was so large, that all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night. He said he could not stay to see the meeting ended, but must disperse them before he went. I desired him then, if he himself could not stay, that he would let a dozen of his soldiers stay, and see the order and peaceableness of our meeting. He said he would permit us an hour's time; and left half a dozen soldiers to stay with us. Then went the captain away with his troop, and friends of the house gave those soldiers that staid, and their horses, some meat. When the captain was gone the soldiers that were left told us, we might stay till night if we would. But we staid but about three hours after, and had a glorious, powerful meeting: for the presence of the living God was manifest amongst us, and the Seed, Christ, was set over all, and friends were built upon him the foundation, and settled under his glorious, heavenly teaching. And after the meeting was done, friends passed away in peace, greatly refreshed with the presence of the Lord, and filled with joy and gladness, that the Lord's power had given them such dominion. For many of the militia soldiers staid also, and were much vexed that the captain and troopers had not broken up our meeting, and cursed the captain and his troopers: for it was reported that they intended to have done us some mischief that day; but the troopers, instead of assisting them, were rather assistant unto us, in not joining with them, as they expected, but preventing them from doing the mischief they designed. And yet this captain was a desperate man, for it was he that had said to me in Scotland, that he would obey his superior's commands, and if it were to crucify Christ he would do it: or execute the great Turk's commands against the Christians, if he were under him. So that it was an eminent power of the Lord which chained down both him and all his troopers, and those envious militia soldiers also, so that they went away, not having power to hurt any of us, nor to break up our meeting.

The next day we had a heavenly meeting at Warmsworth, of friends in the ministry, and several others; and then friends parted; and as they passed through the coun-

tries, several were taken up. For that day that our first meeting was on, Lambert was routed, and it made a great blunder in the country, but friends were not kept long in prison at that time. As I went to this meeting at Balby, there came several to me at Skegby in Nottinghamshire, that were then going to be soldiers under Lambert, and would have bought my horse of me, and because I would not sell him to them, they were in a great rage against me, using many threatening words; but I told them God would confound and scatter them; and within two or three days after they were scattered indeed.

From Warmsworth I passed in the Lord's power to Barton Abbey, where I had a great meeting, and from thence to Thomas Taylor's, and so to Skipton, where there was a general meeting of men-friends out of many counties, concerning the affairs of the church. There was a friend went naked through the town, declaring truth, and he was much beaten. Some other friends also came to me all bloody; and as I walked in the street there was a desperate fellow, had an intent to have done me a mischief; but he was prevented, and our meeting was quiet. To this meeting came many friends out of most parts of the nation, for it was about business relating to the church, both in this nation and beyond the seas. Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to friends the setting up of this meeting for that service; for many friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, and their goods were taken from them contrary to the law, and they understood not how to help themselves, or where to seek redress. But after this meeting was set up, several friends that had been justices and magistrates, and others that understood something of the law, came thither, and were able to inform friends, and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the justices, judges, or parliament. Now this meeting had stood several years, and divers justices and captains had come to break it up, but when they have understood the business friends met about, and have seen friends' books and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, how we took care one county to help another, and to help our friends beyond the seas, and provide for our poor, that none of them should be chargeable to their parishes, &c. the justices and officers would confess that we did their work, and would pass away peaceably and lovingly, commending friends' practices. And sometimes there would come two hundred of the world's poor people, and wait there till the meeting was done (for all the country knew we met

about the poor) and then after the meeting was over, friends would send to the bakers for bread, and give every one of those poor people a loaf, how many soever there were of them: for we were taught to do good unto all; though especially to the household of faith.

After this meeting I passed through the countries, visiting friends in their meetings, till I came to Lancaster; from whence I went to Robert Withers, and so to Arnside, where I had a general meeting for all the friends in those countries, as Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire. The meeting was quiet and peaceable, and the living presence of the Lord was amongst us. After meeting I went back with Robert Withers, and friends all passed away, fresh in the life and power of Christ, in which they had dominion, being settled upon him, the heavenly rock and foundation. But after the meeting, there came several rude fellows (serving-men, belonging to one called Sir George Middleton, a justice, that lived not far off) to have made some disturbance (as it was thought;) but the meeting being ended, they did nothing there: but lighting on three women friends, who were going from the meeting, they set upon them with impudent scoffs, and one of them (whose name was Thomas —) said he would kiss one of them: and carried himself very abusively and immodestly towards them. The same man did abuse other friends also, and was so outrageous that he would have cut friends with an axe; but that he was restrained by some of his fellows. At another time the same man set upon six friends, that were going to meeting to wait upon the Lord, at a place called Yellan, and beat and abused them very much, so that he bruised their faces, and shed much of their blood, wounding them very sore, and one of them in several parts of his body; yet they lifted not up an hand against him, but gave him their backs and their cheeks to beat.

From Robert Withers's I went next day to Swarthmore, Francis Howgil and Thomas Curtis being with me. I had not been long there before one Henry Porter, who was called a justice, sent a warrant by the chief constable, and three petty constables, to apprehend me. I had a sense of the thing before-hand; and being in the parlour with Richard Richardson and Margaret Fell, some of her servants came, and told her that there were some come to search the house for arms; and they went up into some of the chambers under that pretence. It came upon me to go out to them; and as I was going by some of them, I spake some words to them; whereupon they asked me my name. I readily told them my name; and then they laid hold on

me, saying I was the man they looked for, and led me away to Ulverstone. There they kept me all night at the constable's house, and set a guard of fifteen or sixteen men to watch me, some of whom sat in the chimney for fear I should go up the chimney; such dark imaginations possessed them. They were very rude and uncivil to me, and would neither suffer me to speak to friends, nor suffer friends to bring me necessaries; but with violence thrust out friends, and kept a strong guard upon me. Very wicked and rude they were, and a great noise they made about me. One of the constables, whose name was Askburnham, said he did not think a thousand men could have taken me. Another of the constables, whose name was Mount, a very wicked man, said he would have served judge Fell himself so, if he had been alive, and he had a warrant for him. Next morning, about the sixth hour, I was putting on my boots and spurs to go with them before some justice; but they pulled off my spurs, and took my knife out of my pocket, and so hastened me away along the town, with a party of horse, and abundance of people, not suffering me to stay till my own horse came down. When I was gone about a quarter of a mile with them, some friends, with Margaret Fell and her children came towards me; and then a great party of horse gathered about me in a mad rage and fury, crying out, 'Will they rescue him! Will they rescue him!' Whereupon I said unto them, 'Here is my hair, here is my back, here are my cheeks, strike on!' with which words their heat was a little asswaged. Then they brought a little horse, and two of them took up one of my legs, and put my foot in the stirrup, and two or three lifting over my other leg, set me upon the little horse, behind the saddle; and so led the horse by the halter: but I had nothing to hold by. When they were come a pretty way out of the town, they beat the little horse, and made him kick and gallop: whereupon I slipped off him, and told them they should not abuse the creature. They were much enraged at my getting off, and took me by the legs and feet, and set me upon the same horse, behind the saddle again; and so led the horse on, about two miles, till they came to a great water called the Carter Ford. By this time my own horse was come to us, and the water being deep, and their little horse scarce able to have carried me through, they let me get upon my own horse, through the persuasion of some of their own company; they leading him through the water. There was one wicked fellow kneeled down, and lifting up his hands, blessed God that I was taken. When I was come over the

sands, I told them I had heard I had liberty to choose what justice I would go before: but Mount, and the other constables cried 'No, I should not.' Then they led me on to Lancaster, about fourteen miles, and a great triumph they thought to have had: but as they led me, I was moved to sing praises to the Lord, in his triumphing power over all. When I was come to Lancaster, the spirits of the people being mightily up, I stood and looked earnestly upon them; and they cried, 'Look at his eyes!' After a while I spake to them; and then they were pretty sober. Then came a young man, and had me to his house; and after a little time the officers had me to major Porter's house, who was called a justice, and who had sent forth the warrant against me; and he had several others with him. When I came in, I said, 'Peace be amongst you.' But Porter asked me why I came down into the country that troublesome time: I told him, to visit my brethren. Then, said he, you have great meetings up and down. I told him though we had so, our meetings were known throughout the nation to be peaceable, and we were a peaceable people. He said we saw the devil in people's faces. I told him if I saw a drunkard, or a swearer, or a peevish heady man, I could not say I saw the Spirit of God in him; and I asked him if he could see the Spirit of God: he said we cried against their ministers: I told him while we were as Saul, sitting under the priests, and running up and down with their packets of letters, we were never called pestilent fellows, nor makers of sects, but when we were come to exercise our consciences towards God and man, then we were called pestilent fellows, as Paul was: he said we could express ourselves well enough, and he would not dispute with me, but he would restrain me. I desired to know for what, and by whose order he sent forth his warrant for me; and I complained to him of the abuse of the constables and other officers to me, after they had taken me, and in their bringing me thither. He would not take notice of that, but told me he had an order, but would not let me see it; for he would not reveal the king's secrets, he said: and besides, a prisoner, he said, was not to see for what he was committed. I told him that was not reason, for how should he make his defence then: I said I ought to have a copy of it; but he said there was a judge once that fined one for letting a prisoner have a copy of his mittimus; and, said he, I have an old clerk, though I am a young justice. Then he called to his clerk, saying, Is it not ready yet; bring it, meaning the mittimus: but it not being ready, he told me I was a disturber of the nation.

I told him I had been a blessing to the nation, in and through the Lord's power and truth, and the Spirit of God in all consciences would answer it. Then he charged me to be an enemy to the king; that I endeavoured to raise a new war, and embrue the nation in blood again. I told him I had never learned the postures of war, but was clear and innocent as a child concerning those things, and therefore was bold. Then came the clerk with the mittimus, and the jailer was sent for, and commanded to take me and put me into the dark-house, and to let none come at me, but to keep me there a close prisoner until I should be delivered by the king or parliament. Then the justice asked the constables where my horse was, for I hear, said he, that he hath a good horse; have ye brought his horse? I told him where my horse was, but he did not meddle with him. As they had me to the jail, the constable gave me my knife again, and then asked me to give it him; but I told him nay, he had not been so civil to me: so they put me into the jail, and the under-jailer, one Hardy, a very wicked man, was exceeding rude and cruel, and many times would not let me have meat brought in, but as I could get it under the door. Many of the world's people came to look at me, some in great rage, and very uncivil and rude. One time there came two young priests, and very abusive and rude they were, the worst of people could not be worse: amongst those that came in this manner, old Preston, of Howker, his wife, was one, and she used many abusive words to me, telling me my tongue should be cut out, and that I should be hanged, shewing me the gallows: but the Lord God cut her off, and she died in a miserable condition.

Being now a close prisoner in the common jail at Lancaster, I desired two friends, Thomas Cummings and Thomas Green, to go to the jailer, and desire of him a copy of my mittimus, that I might know what I stood committed for. They went, and the jailer answered them he could not give a copy of it, for another had been fined for so doing, but he gave them liberty to read it over; and to the best of their remembrance the matters therein charged against me were that I was a person generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect; and that I, together with others of my fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured to raise insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood: wherefore the jailer was commanded to keep me in safe custody until I should be released by order of the king and parliament.

When I had thus gotten the heads of the charge contained in the mittimus by which I was committed, I writ a plain down-right answer in vindication of my innocency to each particular, as followeth :

‘ I am a prisoner at Lancaster, committed by justice Porter : a copy of the mittimus I cannot get, but such like expressions I am told are in it which are very untrue ; as that I am generally suspected to be a common disturber of the nation’s peace, an enemy to the king, and that I with others should endeavour to raise insurrections, to embroil the nation in blood ; all which is utterly false, and I do, in every part thereof, deny it ; for I am not a person generally suspected to be a disturber of the nation’s peace, nor have given any cause for any such suspicion ; for through the nation I have been tried of these things formerly. In the days of Oliver I was taken up on pretence of raising arms against him, which was also false, for I meddled not with raising arms at all ; yet I was then carried up prisoner to London, and kept prisoner till I was brought before him, and then I cleared myself, and denied the drawing of a carnal weapon against him, or any man upon the earth, for my weapons are spiritual, which take away the occasion of war, and lead into peace ; and upon my declaring this to Oliver, I was set at liberty by him : after this I was taken and sent to prison by major Ceely in Cornwall, who, when I was brought before the judge, informed against me, that I took him aside, and told him that I could raise forty thousand men in an hours time, to involve the nation in blood, and bring in king Charles : this also was utterly false, and a lie of his own inventing, as was then proved upon him, for I never spake any such word to him. I never was found in any plot ; I never took any engagement or oath, nor ever learned war postures ; and as those were false charges against me then, so are these which come from major Porter now, who is lately appointed to be justice, but wanted power formerly to exercise his cruelty against us ; which is but the wickedness of the old enemy : for the peace of the nation I am not a disturber of, nor ever was, but seek the peace of it, and of all men, and stand for all nation’s peace, and all men’s peace upon the earth, and wish that all nations and men knew my innocency in these things.

‘ And whereas major Porter saith I am an enemy to the king : this is false ; for my love is to him and to all men, though they be enemies to God, to themselves, and to me. And I can say it is of the Lord that he is come in to bring down many unrighteously set up, of which I had a sight

three years before he came in. It is much he should say I am an enemy to the king, for I have no reason so to be, he having done nothing against me. But I have been often imprisoned and persecuted these eleven or twelve years by them that have been against both the king and his father, even the party that Porter was made a major by, and bore arms for, but not by them that were for the king. I was never an enemy to the king, nor to any man's person upon the earth; but I am in the love that fulfils the law, which thinks no evil, but loves even enemies, and would have the king saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and be brought into the fear of the Lord, to receive his wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created: that with that wisdom he may order all things to the glory of God, by whom they were created.

‘Whereas he calleth me a chief upholder of the Quakers sect. I answer: the Quakers are not a sect, but are in the power of God, which was before sects were, and witness the election before the world began, and are come to live in the life which the prophets and apostles lived in, who gave forth the Scriptures: therefore are we hated by envious, wrathful, wicked and persecuting men. But God is the upholder of us all by his mighty power, and preserves us from the wrath of the wicked that would swallow us up.

‘And whereas he saith, that I, together with others of my fanatic opinion (as he calls it) have of late endeavoured to raise insurrections, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood: I say this is altogether false; to these things I am as a child, and know nothing of them. The postures of war I never learned: my weapons are spiritual and not carnal; for with carnal weapons I do not fight: I am a follower of him who said, ‘My kingdom is not of this world.’ And though these lies and slanders are raised upon me, I deny drawing of any carnal weapon against the king or parliament, or any man upon the earth; for I am come to the end of the law, to love enemies, and wrestle not with flesh and blood, but am in that which saves men's lives; and a witness I am against all murderers, plotters, and all such as would embrue the nation in blood, for it is not in my heart to have any man's life destroyed. And as for the word fanatic, which signifies furious, foolish, mad, &c. he might have considered himself before he had used that word, and have learned the humility which goes before the honour; for we are not furious, foolish or mad, but through patience and meekness have borne lies and slanders, and persecutions many years, and undergone great sufferings. The spiritual man, that wrestles not with flesh

and blood, and the spirit, that reproves sin in the gate, which is the Spirit of truth, wisdom and sound judgment; this is not mad, foolish, furious, which fanatic signifies, but all are of a mad, furious, foolish spirit, that wrestle with flesh and blood with carnal weapons, in their furiousness, foolishness, and rage: this is not the Spirit of God, but of error, that persecutes in a mad blind zeal, like Nebuchadnezzar and Saul.

‘Now, inasmuch as I am ordered to be kept prisoner till I be delivered by order from the king or parliament, therefore have I written these things to be laid before you, the king and parliament, that ye may consider of them, before ye act any thing therein; that ye may weigh, in the wisdom of God, the intent and end of men’s spirits, lest ye act the thing that will bring the hand of the Lord upon you, and against you, as many have done before you who have been in authority, whom God hath overthrown, in whom we trust, whom we fear and cry unto day and night; who hath heard us, and doth hear us, and will hear us, and avenge our cause: for much innocent blood hath been shed, and many have been persecuted to death by such as have been in authority before you, whom God hath vomited out, because they turned against the just: therefore consider your standing, now that ye have the day, and receive this as a warning of love to you,

‘From the innocent, a sufferer in bonds, and close prisoner in Lancaster castle, called

‘GEORGE FOX.’

Upon my being taken, and forcibly carried away from Margaret Fell’s house, and charged with things of so high a nature, she was concerned, as looking upon it to be an injury offered to her; whereupon she wrote the following lines, and sent them abroad, directed thus:

To all Magistrates, concerning the wrong taking up, and imprisoning GEORGE FOX at Lancaster.

‘I do inform the governors of this nation, that Henry Porter, major of Lancaster, sent a warrant, with four constables, to my house, for which he had no authority nor order. They searched my house, and apprehended George Fox in it, who was not guilty of the breach of any law, or of any offence against any in the nation. After they had taken him, and brought him before the said Henry Porter, there was bail offered, what he would demand, for his appearance, to answer what could be laid to his charge,

but he, (contrary to law, if he had taken him lawfully) denied to accept of any bail, and clapped him in close prison. After he was in prison, a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which ought not to be denied to any prisoner, so that he may see what is laid to his charge, but it was denied him; a copy he could not have, only they were suffered to read it over, and every thing that was there charged against him was utterly false; he was not guilty of any one charge in it, as will be proved and manifested to the nation; so let the governors consider of it. I am concerned in this thing, inasmuch as he was apprehended in my house; and if he be guilty, I am so too. So I desire to have this searched out.

‘MARGARET FELL.’

After this Margaret Fell determined to go to London, to speak with the king about my being taken, and to shew him the manner of it, and the unjust dealing and evil usage I had received; which when justice Porter heard of, he vapoured, that he would go and meet her in the gap; but when he came before the king, he having been a zealous man for the parliament against the king, several of the courtiers spake to him concerning his plundering of their houses, so that he had quickly enough of the court, and soon returned into the country. Mean while the jailer seemed very fearful, and said he was afraid major Porter would hang him, because he had not put me in the dark-house; but when the jailer went to wait on him after he was come back from London, he was very blank and down, and asked how I did, pretending that he would find a way to set me at liberty: but having overshot himself in his mittimus, by ordering me to be kept prisoner till I should be delivered by the king or parliament, he had put it out of his power to release me if he would; he was the more down also upon reading a letter which I sent him; for when he was in the height of his rage and threats against me, and thought to ingratiate himself into the king's favour by imprisoning me, I was moved to write to him, and put him in mind how fierce he had been against the king and his party, though now he would be thought zealous for the king: and among other passages in my letter, I called to his remembrance how when he held Lancaster castle for the parliament against the king, he was so rough and fierce against those that favoured the king, that he said he would leave them neither dog nor cat, if they did not bring him in provision to his castle. I asked him also whose great buck's horns those were that were in his house,

and where he had both them and the wainscot that he cieleed his house withal; had he them not from Hornby castle?

About this time Ann Curtis, of Reading, came to see me, and understanding how I stood committed, it was upon her also to go to the king about it; for her father, who had been sheriff of Bristol, had been hanged near his own door for endeavouring to bring the king in; upon which consideration she had some hopes that the king might hear her on my behalf: accordingly, when she returned to London, she and Margaret Fell went to the king together, who, when he understood whose daughter she was, received her kindly: and her request to him being to send for me up, and hear the cause himself, he promised her he would, and commanded his secretary to send down an order for the bringing me up: but when they came to the secretary for the order, he (being no friend to us) said it was not in his power, but that he must go according to law, and I must be brought up by an habeas corpus before the judges. So he wrote to the judge of the king's bench, signifying that it was the king's pleasure that I should be sent up by an habeas corpus: accordingly a writ was sent down, and delivered to the sheriff; but because it was directed to the chancellor of Lancaster, the sheriff put it off to him; on the other hand, the chancellor would not make the warrant upon it, but said the sheriff must do that. At length both chancellor and sheriff were got together; but being both enemies to truth, they sought occasion for delay, and found (they said) an error in the writ, which was, that being directed to the chancellor, it said, 'George Fox in prison under your custody,' whereas the prison I was in was not (they said) in the chancellor's custody, but in the sheriff's; so the word *your* should have been *his*: upon this they returned the writ to London again, only to have that one word altered: when it was altered, and came down again, the sheriff refused to carry me up, unless I would seal a writing to him, and become bound, and pay for the sealing, and the charge of carrying me up; which I denied, telling them I would not seal any thing to them, nor be bound: so the matter rested a while, and I continued in prison. Mean while the assize came on; but inasmuch as there was a writ come down for removing me up, I was not brought before the judge. At the assize many people came to see me, and I was moved to speak out at the jail window to them, and shew them how uncertain their religion was, and that every sort that had been uppermost persecuted the rest; for when popery was uppermost people had been persecuted for not following the mass; and they

that did hold up the mass cried, then it was the higher power, and people must be subject to the higher power. Afterwards, they that held up the common prayer, persecuted others for not following that, and they said it was the higher power then also, and we must be subject to that. Since that the Presbyterians and Independents cried each of them, 'We must be subject to the higher power, and submit to the directory of the one, and the church faith of the other.' Thus all, like the apostate Jews, have cried, 'Help, men of Israel,' against the true Christians: so people might see how uncertain they are of their religions. But I directed them to Christ Jesus, that they might be built upon him, the rock and foundation, that changeth not. Much on this wise I declared to them, and they were quiet and very attentive. Afterwards I gave forth a little paper concerning true religion, as followeth:

'True religion is the true rule, and right way of serving God: and religion is a pure stream of righteousness, flowing from the image of God, and is the life and power of God planted in the heart and mind by the law of life in the heart, which bringeth the soul, mind, spirit, and body, to be conformable to God, the Father of spirits, and to Christ, so that they come to have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and with all his holy angels and saints. And this religion is pure, from above, undefiled before God, and is to visit the fatherless and widows and strangers, and keeps from the spots of the world. So this religion is above all the defiled spotted religions in the world, that keep not themselves from defilement and spots, but are impure, and below, and spotted, whose fatherless; and widows, and strangers do beg up and down the streets.'

G. F.

Soon after this I gave forth another paper against persecution, as followeth:

'The papists, common-prayer men, presbyterians, independents, and baptists, persecute one another about their inventions which they have invented, their mass, their common-prayer, their directory, their church faith, which they have made and framed; their inventions and handy works, and not for the truth; for they know not what spirit they be of who persecute, and would make men's lives destroyed about church-worship and religion, as saith Christ; who also said he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. Now they that know not what spirit they be of, but will persecute and destroy men's lives, and not save them, we cannot trust our bodies, souls, nor spirits, into their

hands; they know not what spirit they be of themselves, and therefore they are not fit to be trusted with others. They would destroy by a law, as the disciples once would have done by prayer, who would have commanded fire to come down from heaven to destroy them that would not receive Christ: but Christ rebukes them, and tells them they did not know what spirit they were of; and if they did not know what spirit they were of, do these who have persecuted about church and religion since the apostles' days, who would compel men's bodies, goods, lives, souls, and estates, into their hands by a law, or make them suffer else? Those that destroy men's lives are not the ministers of Christ, the Saviour: and seeing they know not what spirit they be of, the lives, bodies, and souls of men are not to be trusted in their hands: and ye that do persecute shall have no resurrection to life with God except ye repent: but they that do know what spirit they are of themselves, they are in the unrebukable zeal, and by the Spirit of God they offer up their spirits, souls, and bodies to the Lord, which are his, to keep them.'

G. F.

Whilst yet I was kept in Lancaster jail, I was moved to give forth the following paper, for the staying the minds of any such as might be hurried or troubled about the change of government.

'All Friends, let the dread and majesty of God fill you! and as concerning the changing of times and governments, let not that trouble any of you, for God hath a mighty work and hand therein: and he will yet change again, until that come up which must reign; and in vain shall all powers and armies withstand the Lord, for his determined work shall come to pass: but what is now come up, it is just with the Lord that it should be so, and he will be served by it: therefore let none murmur nor distrust God, for God will provoke many to zeal against unrighteousness, and for righteousness, through things which are suffered now to work for a season: yea many whose zeal was even dead shall revive again, and they shall see their backslidings, and bewail them bitterly: for God shall thunder down from heaven, and break forth in a mighty noise, and his enemies shall be astonished, and the workers of iniquity confounded; and all that have not the garment of righteousness shall be amazed at the mighty and strange work of the Lord, which shall be certainly brought to pass. But, my babes, look ye not out, but be still in the light of the Lamb, and he shall fight for you: so the Almighty Hand, which

must break and split and divide your enemies, and take away peace from them, preserve and keep you whole, and in unity and peace with itself, and one with another. Amen.'

G. F.

I was moved also to write to the king, both to exhort him to exercise mercy and forgiveness towards his enemies, and to warn him to restrain the prophaneness and looseness that was gotten up in the nation upon his return. It was thus:

To the KING.

'King Charles, thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord: now if thou dost not live in it thou wilt not prosper; and if the Lord hath shewed thee mercy and forgiven thee, and thou dost not shew mercy and forgiveness, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee: and if thou do not stop persecution and persecutors, and take away all laws that do hold up persecution about religion; but if thou do persist in them, and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as them that have gone before thee; for persecution hath alwaye blinded those that have gone into it; and such God by his power overthrowes, and doth his valiant acts upon, and bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones. And if thou dost bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, may-games (with fiddlers, drums, trumpets, to play at them) with such like abominations and vanities be encouraged, or go unpunished, as setting up of may-poles, with the image of the crown a top of them, &c. the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord until he overthrew them; and so he will you, if these things be not suddenly prevented. Hardly was there so much wickedness at liberty before now, as there is now at this day; as though there was no terror nor sword of magistracy; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praise to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace, and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. So hear, and consider, and do good in thy time, whilst thou hast power, and be merciful and forgive: this is the way to overcome, and obtain the kingdom of Christ.'

G. F.

It was long before the sheriff would yield to remove me to London unless I would seal a bond to him and bear their charges, which I still refused to do. Then they consulted how to convey me up, and at first concluded to send up a party of horse with me: and I told them if I were such a man as they had represented me to be, they had need send a troop or two of horse to guard me. When they considered what a charge it would be to them to send up a party of horse with me, they altered their purpose, and concluded to send me up guarded only by the jailor and some bailiffs: but, upon further consideration, they found that would be a great charge to them also, and thereupon sent for me down from the prison unto the jailer's house, and told me if I would put in bail, that I would be in London such a day of the term, I should have leave to go up with some of my own friends: I told them I would neither put in any bail, nor give one piece of silver to the jailer, for I was an innocent man, and they had imprisoned me wrongfully, and laid a false charge upon me: nevertheless, I said, if they would let me go up with one or two of my friends to bear me company, I might go up, and be in London such a day, if the Lord did permit; and if they desired it, I, or any of my friends that went with me, would carry up the charge against myself. So at last, when they saw they could do no otherwise with me, the sheriff yielded, and came under, consenting that I should come up with some of my friends, without any other engagement than my word, as aforesaid, to appear before the judges at London such a day of the term, if the Lord did permit. Whereupon I was set out of prison, and went to Swarthmore, where I staid two or three days, and from thence went to Lancaster again, and so to Preston, having meetings amongst friends in the way, till I came into Cheshire to William Gandy's, where was a large meeting without doors, the house not being sufficient to contain it. That day the Lord's everlasting seed was set over all, and friends were turned to it, who is the Heir of the Promise. Thence passing on I came into Staffordshire and Warwickshire, till I came to Anthony Bickliff's; and at Non-Eaton at a priest's widow's house, we had a blessed meeting, wherein the everlasting Word of Life was powerfully declared, and many settled in it. Then travelling on again through the countries, visiting friends' meetings as I went, in about three weeks time from my coming out of prison, I came to London, Richard Huberthorn and Robert Withers being with me.

When we came to Charing-cross, there were multitudes

of people gathered together to see the burning of the bowels of some of them that had been the old king's judges, and had been hanged, drawn and quartered.

We went next morning to judge Mallett's chamber, who was putting on his red gown, to go sit upon some more of the king's judges: he was then very peevish and froward, and said I might come another time. We went another time to his chamber, and then there was with him judge Foster, who was called the lord chief justice of England; with me was one called esquire Marsh, who was one of the bed-chamber to the king. When we had delivered to the judges the charge that was against me, and they had read to those words that I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood, &c. they struck their hands on the table: whereupon I told them I was the man whom that charge was against, but I was as innocent of any such thing as a new born child, and had brought it up myself, and some of my friends came up with me, without any guard. As yet they had not minded my hat, but now seeing my hat on, they said, what, did I stand with my hat on? I told them I did not stand so in any contempt to them. Then they commanded one to take it off; and when they had called for the marshal of the king's bench, they said to him, You must take this man, and secure him, but you must let him have a chamber, and not put him amongst the prisoners. My lord, said the marshal, I have no chamber to put him into, my house is so full that I cannot tell where to provide a room for him but amongst the prisoners. Nay, said the judge, you must not put him amongst the prisoners. But when he still answered he had no other place to put me in, judge Foster said to me, Will you appear to-morrow about ten of the clock at the king's bench bar in Westminser? I said, Yes, if the Lord give me strength. Then said judge Foster to the other judge, If he says yes, and promises it, you may take his word: so I was dismissed for that time. And next day I appeared at the king's bench bar at the hour appointed, Robert Withers, Richard Huberthorn, and that esquire Marsh before named going with me. I was brought into the middle of the court; and as soon as I was come in, I was moved to look about, and turning to the people, said, Peace be among you: and the power of the Lord sprang over the court. The charge against me was read openly: the people were moderate, and the judges cool and loving, and the Lord's mercy was to them. But when they came to that part which said that I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood, and raising a new war, and that I was an enemy to the king, &c. they lifted up their hands.

Then, stretching out my arms, I said, I am the man whom that charge is against; but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war postures. And, said I, do ye think that if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares, that I would have brought it up myself against myself? or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? for had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need have been guarded up with a troop or two of horse: but the sheriff and magistrate of Lancashire had thought fit to let me and my friends come up with it ourselves, almost two hundred miles, without any guard at all, which ye may be sure they would not have done, if they had looked upon me to be such a man. Then the judge asked me whether it should be filed, or what I would do with it, I answered, Ye are judges, and able, (I hope) to judge in this matter, therefore do with it what ye will, for I am the man these charges are against, and here ye see I have brought them up myself; do ye what ye will with them, I leave it to you. Then judge Twisden beginning to speak some angry words, I appealed to judge Foster and judge Mallet, who had heard me over-night. Whereupon they said they did not accuse me, for they had nothing against me. Then stood up he that was called esquire Marsh, who was of the king's bed-chamber, and told the judges it was the king's pleasure that I should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came up against me. Then they asked me whether I would put it to the king and council; I said yes, with a good will: thereupon they sent the sheriff's return which he made to the writ of habeas corpus, containing the matter charged against me in the mittimus, to the king, that he might see for what I was committed. Now the return of the sheriff of Lancaster was thus:

' By virtue of his majesty's writ, to me directed, and hereunto annexed, I certify, that before the receipt of the said writ, George Fox, in the said writ mentioned, was committed to his majesty's jail at the castle of Lancaster, in my custody, by a warrant from Henry Porter, esq. one of his majesty's justices of peace within the county palatine aforesaid, bearing date the fifth of June now last past; for that he, the said George Fox, was generally suspected to be a common disturber of the peace of this nation, an enemy to our sovereign lord the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect; and that he, together with others of his fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured to make insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the

whole kingdom in blood: and this is the cause of his taking and detaining. Nevertheless, the body of the said George Fox I have ready before Thomas Mallet, knight, one of his majesty's justices assigned to hold pleas before his said majesty, at his chamber in Serjeant's Inn, in Fleet-street, to do and receive those things which his majesty's said justice shall determine concerning him in this behalf, as by the aforesaid writ is required.

‘GEORGE CHETHAM, Esq. Sheriff.’

Upon perusal of this, and consideration of the whole matter, the king, being satisfied of my innocency, commanded his secretary to send an order to judge Mallet for my release; which the secretary did, thus:

‘It is his majesty's pleasure, that you give order for the releasing, and setting at full liberty, the person of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and commanded hither by an habeas corpus. And this signification of his majesty's pleasure shall be your sufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1660.

‘EDWARD NICHOLAS.’

For Sir Thomas Mallet, Knight,
one of the Justices of the King's Bench.

When this order was delivered to judge Mallet, he forthwith sent his warrant to the marshal of the king's bench for my release, which warrant was thus worded:

‘By virtue of a warrant, which this morning I received from the right honourable Sir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of his majesty's principal secretaries, for the releasing and setting at liberty of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and from thence brought hither by habeas corpus, and yesterday committed unto your custody; I do hereby require you accordingly to release and set the said prisoner, George Fox, at liberty; for which this shall be your warrant and discharge. Given under my hand, the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God 1660.

‘THOMAS MALLET.’

To Sir John Lenthal, Knight,
Marshal of the King's Bench, or his deputy.

Thus, after I had been a prisoner somewhat more than twenty weeks, I was freely set at liberty by the king's command, the Lord's power having wonderfully wrought for the clearing of my innocency; and Porter, who committed me, not daring to appear to make good the charge he had falsely suggested against me. But after it was known I was

discharged, there was a company of envious wicked spirits that were troubled I was set at liberty, and terror took hold of justice Porter; for he was afraid I would take the advantage of the law against him for my wrong imprisonment, and thereby undo him, his wife and children. And indeed I was put on by some in authority, to have made him and the rest examples; but I said I should leave them to the Lord; if the Lord did forgive them, I should not trouble myself with them.

Now did I see the end of the travel which I had had in my sore exercise at Reading; for the everlasting power of the Lord was over all, and his blessed truth, life and light shined over the nation, and great and glorious meetings we had, and very quiet, and many flocked in unto the truth. For Richard Hubberthorn had been with the king, and the king said none should molest us, so long as we lived peaceably, and promised this to us upon the word of a king, telling him we might make use of his promise. Some friends also were admitted to go into the House of Lords, before them and the bishops, and had liberty given them to declare their reasons, why they could not pay tithes, nor swear, nor go to the steeple-house worship, or join with others in worship, and they heard them moderately. And there being about seven hundred friends in prison in the nation, who had been committed under Oliver's and Richard's government, upon contempt (as they call them) when the king came in, he set them all at liberty. For there seemed at that time an inclination and intention in the government to have granted friends liberty, because they were sensible that we had suffered as well as they in the former power's days. But still, when any thing was going forward in order thereunto, some dirty spirits or other, that would seem to be for us, threw something in the way to stop it. It was said, there was an instrument drawn up for confirming our liberty, and that it only wanted signing; when on a sudden that wicked attempt of the fifth-monarchy people brake forth, and put the city and nation in an uproar. This was on a first-day night, and very glorious meetings we had had that day, wherein the Lord's truth shined over all, and his power was exalted above all; but about midnight, or soon after, the drums beat, and the cry was, 'Arm, Arm!' I got up out of bed, and in the morning took boat, and landing at Whitehall Stairs walked through Whitehall. They looked strangely on me there, but I passed through them, and went to the Pall Mall, whither divers friends came to me, though it was now grown dangerous passing the streets;

for by this time both the city and suburbs were up in arms, and exceeding rude the people and soldiers were; inso-much that a friend, Henry Fell, going to a friend's house, the soldiers knocked him down, and he had been killed, if the duke of York had not come by. Great mischief was done in the city this week; and when the next first-day came, that friends went to their meetings as they used to do, many were taken prisoners. I staid at the Pall Mall, intending to be at the meeting there; but on the seventh-day at night, a company of troopers came and knocked at the door; the maid letting them in, they rushed into the house, and strait laid hold upon me; and there being amongst them one that had served under the parliament, he clapped his hand to my pocket, and asked whether I had any pistols: I told him he knew I did not use to carry pistols, why therefore did he ask such a question of me, whom he knew to be a peaceable man: others of the soldiers run into the chambers, and there found in bed that squire Marsh before mentioned, who, though he was one of the king's bed-chamber, out of his love to me, came and lodged where I did. When they came down again, they said, why should we take this man away with us: we will let him alone. Oh, said the parliament soldier, he is one of the heads and a chief ringleader. Upon this the soldiers were taking me away, but — Marsh hearing of it, he sent for him that commanded the party, and desired him to let me alone, for he would see me forth-coming in the morning. In the morning before they could fetch me, and before the meeting was gathered, there came a company of foot to the house, and one of them drawing out his sword, held it over my head. I asked him, wherefore he drew his sword at a naked man: at which his fellows being ashamed, bid him put up his sword. These foot soldiers took me away to Whitehall, before the troopers came for me. As I was going out several friends were coming into the meeting, whose boldness and chearfulness I commended, and encouraged them to persevere therein. When I was brought to Whitehall, the soldiers and people were exceeding rude, yet I declared truth to them; but some great persons coming by, who were very full of envy, what, said they, do ye let him preach? put him into such a place, where he may not stir. So into that place they put me, and the soldiers watched over me; I told them, though they could confine my body and shut that up, yet they could not stop up the Word of Life. Some thereupon came, and asked me what I was: I told them, I was a preacher of righteousness. After I had been kept there

two or three hours, — Marsh spake to him that was called the Lord Gerrard, and he came and bid them set me at liberty. Then the marshal, when I was discharged, demanded fees. I told him, I could not give him any, neither was it our practice; and I asked him, how he could demand fees of me who was innocent: nevertheless, I told him, in my own freedom I would give him two-pence, to make him and the soldiers drink; but they shouted at that, and took it disdainfully. So I told them, if they would not accept it, choose they; for I should give them no fees. Then went I through the guards, the Lord's power being over them; and after I had declared truth to the guards and soldiers, I went up the streets with two Irish colonels that came from Whitehall, and went to an inn, where many friends were at that time prisoners under a guard. I desired those colonels to speak to the guard to let me go in to visit my friends, that were prisoners there, but they would not. Then I stepped to the centry, and desired him to let me go up, and he did so. While I was there, the soldiers went to the Pall Mall again to search for me there; but not finding me, they turned towards the inn, and bid all come out that were not prisoners, so they went out. But I asked the soldiers that were within, whether I might not stay there a while with my friends; and they said, yes. I staid a while, and so escaped their hands again. Towards night I went down to the Pall Mall, to see how it was with the friends there; and after I had staid a while, I went up into the city. Great rifling of houses there was at this time to search for people; but I went to a private friend's house, and Richard Huberthorn was with me. There we drew up a declaration against plots and fightings, to be presented to the king and council; but when we had finished it and sent it to the press, it was taken in the press.

Upon this insurrection of the fifth monarchy-men, great havoc was made both in city and country, so that it was dangerous for sober people to stir abroad for several weeks after; and hardly could either men or women go up and down the streets to buy provisions for their families without being abused. In the countries they dragged men and women out of their houses, and some sick men out of their beds by the legs. Nay, one man that was in a fever, the soldiers dragged out of his bed to prison, and when he was brought thither he died. His name was Thomas Pachyn.

Margaret Fell went to the king, and told him what sad work there was in the city, and in the nation, and shewed him, that we were an innocent peaceable people, and that

we must keep our meetings as we used to do, whatever we suffered; but that it concerned him to see that peace was kept, that so no innocent blood might be shed.

Now were the prisons every where filled with friends, and others, in city and country, and the posts were so laid for the searching of letters, that none could pass unsearched; yet we heard of several thousands of our friends, that were cast into prison in several places throughout the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the king and council. The next week we had an account of several thousands more that were cast into prison; and she went and laid them also before the king and his council. They wondered how we could have such intelligence, seeing they had given such strict charge for the intercepting of all letters; but the Lord did so order it, that we had an account, notwithstanding all their stoppings. For in the deep sense I had of the grievous sufferings friends underwent, and of their innocence towards God and man, I was moved to send the following epistle to them, as a word of consolation, and put them upon sending up their sufferings:

‘ My dear friends,

‘ In the immortal seed of God, which will plead its own innocence, who be inheritors of an everlasting kingdom that is incorruptible; and of a world and riches that fade not away, peace and mercy be multiplied amongst you in all your sufferings, who never feared them; whose backs were not unready, but your hair and cheeks prepared; who never feared sufferings as knowing it is your portion in the world, from the foundation of which the Lamb was slain, who reigns in his glory which he had with his Father, before the world began; who is your rock in all floods and waves, upon which ye can stand safe, with a chearful countenance, beholding the Lord God of the whole earth on your side. So in the Seed of God, which was before the unrighteous world, in which the sufferings are, live and feed, wherein the Bread of Life is felt, and no cause of complaint of hunger or cold. Friends, your sufferings all, that are or have been of late in prison, I would have you send up an account of them, and how things are amongst you, that it may be delivered to the king and his council, for things are pretty well here after the storm.’

G. F.

London, the 28th of the 11th Month, 1660.

Having lost our former declaration in the press, we made haste and drew up another against plots and fighting, and got it printed, and sent some of them to the king and council; others of them were sold up and down the streets, and at the exchange. Which declaration was some years after re-printed, and is as followeth:

A Declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God, called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters, and fighters in the world: for the removing of the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings.

Presented unto the King upon the 21st day of the 11th month, 1660.

‘ Our principle is, and our practices have always been, to seek peace and ensue it, and to follow after righteousness and the knowledge of God; seeking the good and welfare, and doing that which tends to the peace of all. We know that wars and fightings proceed from the lusts of men, as Jam. iv. 1. 2. 3. out of which lusts the Lord hath redeemed us, and so out of the occasion of war; the occasion of which war, and the war itself (wherein envious men, who are lovers of themselves more than lovers of God, lust, kill, and desire to have men’s lives or estates) ariseth from the lust. All bloody principles and practices we (as to our own particular) do utterly deny; with all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever; and this is our testimony to the whole world.

‘ And whereas it is objected:

‘ But although you now say that you cannot fight, nor take up arms at all, yet if the Spirit do move you, then you will change your principle, and then you will sell your coat, and buy a sword, and fight for the kingdom of Christ.

‘ Answ. As for this, we say to you, that Christ said to Peter, Put up thy sword in his place; though he had said before, he that had no sword, might sell his coat and buy one, (to the fulfilling of the law and scripture) yet after, when he had bid him put it up, he said, He that taketh the sword, shall perish with the sword. And further, Christ said to Pilate, Thinkest thou, that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? And this might satisfy Peter,

Luke xxii. 36. after he had put up his sword, when he said to him, He that took it, should perish by it; which satisfieth us, Mat. xxiv. 51. 52. 53. And in the Revelation it is said, He that kills with the sword, shall perish with the sword, and here is the faith and the patience of the saints. And so Christ's kingdom is not of this world, therefore do not his servants fight, as he told Pilate the magistrate, who crucified him; and did they not look upon Christ as a raiser of sedition? and did not he say, Forgive them? But thus it is that we are numbered amongst transgressors, and numbered amongst fighters, that the scriptures might be fulfilled.

‘ That spirit of Christ, by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil, and again to move unto it; and we do certainly know, and so testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.

‘ First, because the kingdom of Christ God will exalt, according to his promise, and cause it to grow and flourish in righteousness; not by might, nor by power (of outward sword) but by my Spirit, saith the Lord, Zech. iv. 6. So those that use any weapon to fight for Christ, or for the establishing of his kingdom or government, both the spirit, principle, and practice in that, we deny.

‘ Secondly, we do earnestly desire and wait, that (by the word of God's power, and its effectual operation in the hearts of men) the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ, that he might rule and reign in men by his spirit and truth; that thereby all people out of all different judgments and professions, might be brought into love and unity with God, and one with another, and that they might all come to witness the prophets words, who said, Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more, Isa. ii. 4. Mich. iv. 3.

‘ So we, whom the Lord hath called into the obedience of his truth, have denied wars and fightings, and cannot again any more learn it. And this is a certain testimony unto all the world, of the truth of our hearts in this particular, that as God persuadeth every man's heart to believe, so they may receive it. For we have not (as some others) gone about cunningly with devised fables, nor have we ever denied in practice what we have professed in principle; but in sincerity an truth, and by the word

of God have we laboured to be made manifest unto all men, that both we and our ways might be witnessed in the hearts of all people. And whereas all manner of evil hath been falsely spoken of us, we hereby speak forth the plain truth of our hearts, to take away the occasion of that offence; that so we being innocent, may not suffer for other men's offences, nor be made a prey upon by the wills of men for that of which we were never guilty; but in the uprightness of our hearts we may, under the power ordained of God for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well, live a peaceable and godly life, in all godliness and honesty. For although we have always suffered, and do now more abundantly suffer, yet we know that it is for righteousness sake; for our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God we have had our conversation in the world, 2 Cor. i. 12. which for us is a witness for the convincing of our enemies. For this we can say to all the world, we have wronged no man's persons or possessions; we have used no force nor violence against any man; we have been found in no plots, nor guilty of sedition; when we have been wronged, we have not sought to revenge ourselves; we have not made resistance against authority; but wherein we could not obey for conscience-sake, we have suffered even the most of any people in the nation. We have been counted as sheep for the slaughter, persecuted and despised, beaten, stoned, wounded, stocked, whipped, imprisoned, haled out of synagogues, cast into dungeons and noisome vaults, where many have died in bonds, shut up from our friends, denied needful sustenance for many days together, with other the like cruelties. And the cause of all these our sufferings is not for any evil, but for things relating to the worship of our God, and in obedience to his requirings of us, for which cause we shall freely give up our bodies a sacrifice, rather than disobey the Lord; for we know, as the Lord hath kept us innocent, so he will plead our cause, when there is none in the earth to plead it. So we, in obedience unto his truth, do not love our lives unto death, that we may do his will, and wrong no man in our generation, but seek the good and peace of all men. And he that hath commanded us, that we shall not swear at all, Matth. v. 34. hath also commanded us, that we shall not kill, Matth. v. So that we can neither kill men, nor swear for nor against them. And this is both our principle and practice, and hath been from the beginning; so that if we suffer, as suspected to

take up arms, or make war against any, it is without any ground from us; for it neither is, nor ever was in our hearts, since we owned the truth of God; neither shall we ever do it, because it is contrary to the Spirit of Christ, his doctrine, and the practices of his apostles, even contrary to him, for whom we suffer all things, and endure all things.

‘ And whereas men come against us with clubs, staves, drawn swords, pistols cocked, and do beat, cut, and abuse us, yet we never resisted them, but to them our hair, backs, and cheeks have been ready; but it is not an honour to manhood or nobility, to run upon harmless people, who lift not up an hand against them with arms and weapons.

‘ Therefore consider these things, ye men of understanding; for plotters, raisers of insurrections, tumultuous ones, and fighters, running with swords, clubs, staves, and pistols, one against another; we say these are of the world, and have their foundation from this unrighteous world, from the foundation of which the Lamb hath been slain; which Lamb hath redeemed us from this unrighteous world, and we are not of it, but are heirs of a world in which there is no end, and of a kingdom, where no corruptible thing enters. And our weapons are spiritual, and not carnal, yet mighty through God, to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and satan, who is author of wars, fighting, murder, and plots; and our swords are broken into plow-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, as prophesied of in Micah iv. Therefore we cannot learn war any more, neither rise up against nation or kingdom with outward weapons, though you have numbered us amongst the transgressors and plotters; the Lord knows our innocency herein, and will plead our cause with all men and people upon earth, at the day of their judgment, when all men shall have a reward according to their works.

‘ Therefore in love we warn you for your souls’ good, not to wrong the innocent, nor the babes of Christ, which he hath in his hand, which he tenders as the apple of his eye; neither seek to destroy the heritage of God, neither turn your swords backward upon such as the law was not made for, i. e. the righteous, but for the sinners and transgressors to keep them down. For those are not the peacemakers, neither the lovers of enemies, neither can they overcome evil with good, who wrong them that be friends to you and all men, and wish your good, and the good of all people on the earth. If you oppress us, as they did the children of Israel in Egypt, and if you oppress us as they

did when Christ was born, and as they did the Christians in the primitive times; we can say, the Lord forgive you; and leave the Lord to deal with you, and not revenge ourselves. And if you say, as the council said to Peter and John, You must speak no more in that name; and if you serve us, as they served the three children spoken of in Daniel, God is the same as ever he was, that lives for ever and ever, who hath the innocent in his arms.

‘ Oh, friends! offend not the Lord and his little ones, neither afflict his people, but consider and be moderate. And do not run hastily into things, but mind and consider mercy, justice, and judgment; that is the way for you to prosper, and get the favour of the Lord. Our meetings were stopped and broken up in the days of Oliver, in pretence of plotting against him, and in the days of the committee of safety we were looked upon as plotters, to bring in king Charles, and now our peaceable meetings are termed seditious. Oh that men should lose their reason, and go contrary to their own conscience, knowing that we have suffered all things, and have been accounted plotters all along, though we have declared against them both by word of mouth and printing, and are clear from any such thing! Though we have suffered all along, because we would not take up carnal weapons to fight withal against any, and are thus made a prey upon because we are the innocent lambs of Christ, and cannot avenge ourselves! These things are left upon your hearts to consider; but we are out of all those things, in the patience of the saints; and we know, that as Christ said, He that takes the sword, shall perish with the sword, Mat. xxvi. 52. Rev. xiii. 10.

[This is given forth from the people called Quakers, to satisfy the king and his council, and all those that have any jealousy concerning us, that all occasion of suspicion may be taken away, and our innocency cleared.]

Given forth on the behalf of the whole body of the elect people of God, who were called Quakers, in the year 1660.

Postscript.

‘ Though we are numbered amongst transgressors, and so have been given up to all rude merciless men, by which our meetings are broken up, in which we edified one another in our holy faith, and prayed together to the Lord that lives for ever, yet he is our pleader for us in this day. The Lord saith, They that feared his name, spake often

together, (as in Malachy) which were as his jewels; and for this cause, and no evil-doing, are we cast into holes, dungeons, houses of correction, prisons, (they sparing neither old nor young, men nor women) and made a prey on in the sight of all nations, under pretence of being seditious, &c. so that all rude people run upon us to take possession; for which we say, the Lord forgive them that have thus done to us, who doth, and will enable us to suffer, and never shall we lift up hand against any man that doth thus use us; but that the Lord may have mercy upon them, that they may consider what they have done. For how is it possible for them to requite us for the wrong they have done to us? Who to all nations have sounded us abroad as seditious or plotters, who were never found plotters against any power or man upon the earth, since we knew the life and power of Jesus Christ manifested in us, who hath redeemed us from the world, and all works of darkness, and plotters that be in it, by which we know our election, before the world began. So we say, the Lord have mercy upon our enemies and forgive them, for that they have done unto us.

‘ Oh! do as you would be done by, and do unto all men as you would have them do unto you; for this is but the law and the prophets.

‘ And all plots, insurrections, and riotous meetings, we do deny, knowing them to be of the devil, the murderer, which we in Christ (who was before they were) triumph over them. And all wars and fightings with carnal weapons we do deny, who have the sword of the Spirit; and all that wrong us, we leave them to the Lord. And this is to clear our innocency from that aspersion cast upon us, that we are seditious or plotters.’

Added in the Reprinting.

‘ Courteous Reader,

‘ This was our testimony above twenty years ago, and since then we have not been found acting contrary to it, nor ever shall; for the truth, that is our guide, is unchangeable. And this is now reprinted to the men of this age, many of whom were then children, and doth stand as our certain testimony against all plotting and fighting with carnal weapons; and if any by departing from the truth should do so, this is our testimony in the truth against them, and will stand over them, and the truth will be clear of them.’

This declaration did somewhat clear the dark air that was over the city and country. And soon after the king gave forth a proclamation, that no soldiers should go to search any house but with a constable. But the jails were still full, many thousands of friends being in prison in the nation; which mischief was occasioned by that wicked rising of those fifth-monarchy-men. But when those of them that were taken, came to be executed, they did us that right, to clear us openly from having any hand in or knowledge of their plot. And after that the king being continually importuned thereunto, issued forth a declaration, that friends should be set at liberty without paying fees. But great labour and travel, care and pains was taken in it, before this was obtained, for Thomas Moor and Margaret Fell went often to the king about it.

Much blood was shed this year, many of them that had been the old king's judges being hanged, drawn, and quartered. And amongst them that so suffered, colonel Hacker was one, he who sent me prisoner from Leicester to London in Oliver's time, of which an account is given before. A sad day it was, and a repaying of blood with blood. For in the time of Oliver Cromwell, when several men were put to death by him, being hanged, drawn, and quartered, for pretended treasons, I felt from the Lord God, that their blood would not be put up, but would be required; and I said as much then to several. And now upon the king's return, when several of them that had been against the king were put to death, as the others that were for the king, had been before by Oliver; this was sad work, destroying of people contrary to the nature of Christians, who have the nature of lambs and sheep. But there was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of professors, who being got into power, grew proud, haughty, and cruel beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity. Therefore when friends were under cruel persecutions and sufferings in the Common-wealth's time, I was moved of the Lord to write unto friends to draw up their sufferings, and lay them before the justices at their sessions. And if they would not do them justice, then to lay it before the judges at the assize; and if they would not do them justice, then to lay it before the parliament, and before the protector and his council, that they might all see what was done under their government; and if they would not do justice, then to lay it before the Lord, who would hear the cries of the oppressed, and of the widows and fatherless, that they had made so. For that which we suffered for, and which

our goods were spoiled for, it was for our obedience to the Lord in his power and in his spirit, who was able to help and to succour, and we had no helper in the earth but him. And he did hear the cries of his people, and did bring an overflowing scourge over the heads of all our persecutors, which brought a quaking, and a dread, and a fear amongst and on them all: so that they, who had nicknamed us (who are the children of light) and in scorn called us Quakers, the Lord made them quake, and many of them would have been glad to have hid themselves amongst us; and some of them, through the distress that came upon them, did at length come to confess to the truth. Oh! the daily reproaches, revilings, and beatings, we underwent amongst them, even in the high-ways, because we could not put off our hats to them, and for saying thou and thee to them! Oh! the havock and spoil the priests made of our goods, because we could not put into their mouths and give them tithes! besides casting into prisons, and besides the great fines laid upon us, because we could not swear! But for all these things did the Lord God plead with them. Yet some of them were so hardened in their wickedness, that when they were turned out of their places and offices, they said, 'If they had power they would do the same again.' And when this day of overturning was come upon them, they said, 'It was all long of us.' Wherefore I was moved to write to them, and to ask them, 'Did we ever resist them when they took away our ploughs and plough-gears, our carts and horses, our corn and cattle, our kettles and platters from us, and whipt us, and set us in the stocks, and cast us into prison, and all because we could not conform to their religions, manners, customs, and fashions? Did we ever resist them? Did we not give them our backs to beat, and our cheeks to pull off the hair, and our faces to spit on? Had not their priests that prompted them on to such work, plucked them with themselves into the ditch? Why then would they say it was all long of us, when it was long of themselves, and their priests, their blind prophets, that followed their own spirits, and could fore-see nothing of these times and things that were come upon them, which we had long forewarned them of, as Jeremiah and Christ had forewarned Jerusalem. And they thought to have wearied us out, and undone us, but they undid themselves; whereas we could praise God, notwithstanding all their plundering of us, that we had a kettle, and a platter, and an horse, and plough still.'

Many ways were these professors warned, both by word, by writing, and by signs; but they would believe none, till it was too late. William Sympson was moved of the Lord to go at several times for three years, naked and barefoot before them, as a sign unto them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priest's houses, and to great men's houses, telling them, so should they be all stripped naked, as he was stripped naked. And sometimes he was moved to put on hair sackcloth, and to besmear his face, and to tell them, so would the Lord God besmear all their religion, as he was besmeared. Great sufferings did that poor man undergo, sore whippings with horse-whips and coach-whips on his bare body, grievous stonings and imprisonments, in three years time, before the king came in, that they might have taken warning, but they would not; but rewarded his love with cruel usage. Only the mayor of Cambridge did nobly to him, for he put his gown about him, and took him into his house.

Another friend, one Robert Huntington, was moved of the Lord to go into Carlisle steeple-house, with a white sheet about him, amongst the great Presbyterians and Independents there, to shew them that the surplice was coming up again: and he put an halter about his neck, to shew them that an halter was coming upon them: which was fulfilled upon some of our persecutors not long after.

Another, whose name was Richard Sale, living near West Chester, and being constable of the place where he lived, had a friend sent to him with a pass (whom those wicked professors had taken up for a vagabond, because he travelled up and down in the work of the ministry) and this constable being convinced by the friend that was thus brought to him, gave him his pass and liberty, and was afterwards himself cast into prison. After this, on a lecture day, this Richard Sale was moved to go to the steeple-house, in the time of their worship, and to carry those persecuting priests and people a lantern and candle, as a figure of their darkness: but they cruelly abused him, and like dark professors as they were, they put him into their prison called Little-Ease; and so squeezed his body therein that not long after he died. Many warnings of many sorts were friends moved in the power of the Lord to give unto that generation, which they not only rejected, but abused friends, calling us giddy-headed quakers: but God brought his judgments upon those persecuting priests and magistrates. For when the king came in, most of them were turned out of their places and benefices, and the spoilers were spoiled: and then we could ask them, who

were the giddy heads now. Then many did confess we had been true prophets to the nation, and said, had we cried against some priests only, they should have liked us then; but we crying against all, that made them dislike us: but now they did see that those priests, which then were looked upon to be the best, were as bad as the rest. For indeed, some of those that were counted to be the most eminent priests, were the bitterest and greatest stirrers up of the magistrates to persecution; and it was a judgment upon them to be denied the free liberty of their consciences when the king came in, because when they were uppermost they would not have had liberty of conscience been granted unto others. For there was one Hewes of Plymouth, a priest of great note in Oliver's days, who, when some liberty was granted, prayed that God would put it into the hearts of the chief magistrates of the nation, to remove this cursed toleration: and others of them prayed against it by the name of Intolerable Toleration. But a while after, when the king was come in, and priest Hewes turned out of his great benefice for not conforming to the common prayer, a friend of Plymouth meeting with him, asked him whether he would account toleration accursed now? and whether he would not now be glad of a toleration? To which the priest returned no answer, save by the shaking of his head. But as stiff as this sort of men were then against toleration, it is well known that many of them petitioned the king for toleration, and for meeting-places, and paid for licences too. But to return to the present time, the latter end of the year 1660 and beginning of 1661.

Although those friends that had been imprisoned upon the rising of those monarchy-men, were set at liberty, yet meetings were much disturbed, and great sufferings friends went under. For besides what was done by officers and soldiers, many wild fellows and rude people often came in. There came one time, when I was at Pall-Mall, an ambassador with a company of Irishmen with rude fellows: the meeting was done before they came, and I was gone up into a chamber, where I heard one of them say, he would kill all the Quakers. So I went down to him, and was moved in the power of the Lord to speak to him: and I told him, the law said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but thou threatens to kill all the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt. But said I, here is gospel for thee: here is my hair, and here is my cheek, and here is my shoulder, turning it to him. This came so over him, that he and his companions stood as men amazed, and said,

if that was our principle, and if we were as we said, they never saw the like in their lives. I told them, what I was in words, I was the same in life. Then the ambassador came in (for he had stood without; for he said, that Irish colonel was such a desperate man, that he durst not come in with him, for fear he should have done us some mischief) but truth came over him, and he carried himself lovingly towards us; and so did the ambassador also, for the Lord's power was over them all.

At Mile-end friends were kept out of their meeting-place by soldiers, but friends stood nobly in the truth, and were valiant for the Lord's name: and at last the truth gave them dominion.

About this time we had account that John Love, a friend, that was moved to go and bear testimony against the idolatry of the papists, was dead in prison at Rome; and it was suspected he was privately put to death in prison. John Perrot was also prisoner there, and being released, came over again; but after his arrival here, he, with Charles Baily, and some others, turned aside from the unity of friends and truth. Whereupon I was moved to give forth a paper, declaring how the Lord would blast them all, both him and his followers, (if they did not repent and return) and that they should wither, like the grass on the house-top: and so many of them did; but others of them returned and repented.

Also before this time we received account from New-England, that the government there had made a law to banish the Quakers out of their colonies, upon pain of death in case they returned; and that several of our friends, having been so banished, and returning, were thereupon taken, and actually hanged: and that divers more were in prison, in danger of the like sentence to be executed upon them. When those were put to death, I was in prison at Lancaster, and had a perfect sense of their sufferings, as though it had been myself, and as though the halter had been put about my own neck; though we had not at that time heard of it. But as soon as we heard of it, Edward Burrough went to the king, and told him there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if it were not stopped, would overrun all. To which the king replied, But I will stop that vein. Edward Burrough said, Then do it speedily, for we do not know how many may soon be put to death. The king answered, As speedily as ye will. Call (said he to some present) the secretary, and I will do it presently. So the secretary being called, a mandamus was forthwith

granted. A day or two after, Edward Burrough going again to the king, to desire the matter might be expedited, the king said, he had no occasion at present to send a ship thither, but if we would send one we might do it as soon as we would. Edward Burrough then asked the king, if it would please him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker, to carry the mandamus to New-England, (which is hereafter inserted). He said, Yes, to whom ye will. Whereupon E. B. named one Samuel Shattock (as I remember) who being an inhabitant of New-England, was banished by their law to be hanged if he came again : and to him the deputation was granted. Then we sent for one Ralph Goldsmith, an honest friend, who was master of a good ship, and with him we agreed for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days. He forthwith prepared to set sail, and with a prosperous gale, in about six weeks time, arrived before the town of Boston, in New-England, upon a first-day morning, called Sunday. With him went many passengers, both of New and Old England, that were friends, whom the Lord did move to go to bear their testimony against those bloody persecutors, who had exceeded all the world in that age, in their bloody persecutions. The townsmen at Boston seeing a ship come into the bay with English colours, soon came on board, and asked for the captain ; Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the commander. They asked him if he had any letters ; he said, yes. They asked if he would deliver them ; he said, no, not to-day. So they went on shore, and reported there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, whom they knew was, by their law, to be put to death, for coming again after banishment : but they knew not his errand nor his authority. So all being kept close that day, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore, next morning Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, the commander of the vessel, went on shore ; and sending back to the ship the men that landed them, they two went through the town to the governor's, John Endicott's door, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business ; they sent him word, their business was from the king of England, and they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself. Thereupon they were admitted to go in, and the governor came to them ; and having received the deputation and mandamus, he laid off his hat, and looked upon them : then going out, he bid the friends follow him. So he went to the deputy-governor, and after a short consultation, came out to the friends, and said,

We shall obey his majesty's commands. After this the master gave liberty to the passengers to come on shore; and presently the noise of the business flew about the town; and the friends of the town and the passengers of the ship met together, to offer up their praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the teeth of the devourer. While they were thus met, in came a poor friend, who being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons, expecting execution. This added to their joy, and caused them to lift up their hearts in high praises to God, who is worthy for ever to have the praise, the glory, and the honour; for he only is able to deliver, and to save, and to support all that sincerely put their trust in him. Here follows a copy of the said mandamus:

‘ Charles R.

‘ Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Having been informed that several of our subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like, we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future: and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people called Quakers amongst you, now already condemned to suffer death, or other corporal punishment; or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any further therein; but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether condemned or imprisoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with the respective crimes or offences laid to their charge: to the end such course may be taken with them here, as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the thirteenth year of our reign.’

Subscribed: To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicott, esq. and to all and every other the governor or governors of our plantations of New-England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be; and to all and every the ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies whatsoever, within the continent of New England.

By his majesty's command.

William Morris,

Some time after this several of New England's magistrates came over hither, and one of their priests; and we had several discourses with them at several times concerning their murdering our friends, the servants of the Lord, but they were ashamed to stand to their bloody actions. At one of those meetings I asked Simon Broadstreet, (who was one of the New England magistrates) whether he had not an hand in putting to death those four servants of God whom they hanged for being Quakers only, as they had nick-named them; and he confessed he had. I then asked him and the rest of his associates that were present, whether they would acknowledge themselves to be subjects to the laws of England, and if they did, by what law they had put our friends to death? they said they were subjects to the laws of England, and they had put our friends to death by the same law as the jesuits were put to death here in England. I asked them then whether they did believe that those friends of ours, whom they had put to death, were jesuits or jesusitically affected; and they said, nay: then, said I, ye have murdered them if ye have put them to death by the law that jesuits are put to death here in England, and yet confess they are no jesuits. By this it plainly appears ye have put them to death in your own wills, without any law. Then Simon Broadstreet, finding himself and his company ensnared by their own words, said, did we come to catch them? I told them they had caught themselves, and they might justly be questioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinson (who was one of them that was put to death), were in town, it was probable he would question them, and bring their lives into jeopardy. Hereupon they began to excuse themselves, saying, there was no persecution now amongst them: but next morning we had letters from New-England, giving us account that our friends were persecuted there afresh. Thereupon we went to them again, and shewed them our letters, which put them both to silence and to shame; and in great fear they seemed to be, lest some should call them to account, and prosecute them for their lives, especially Simon Broadstreet; for he had at first, before so many witnesses, confessed he had a hand in putting our friends to death, that he could not get off from it; though he afterwards through fear shuffled, and would have unsaid it again. But after this, he and the rest of them soon left the city, and got back to New-England again. I went also to governor Winthrop, and discoursed with him about these matters, but he assured me he had no hand in putting our friends to death, or in any way persecuting of them;

but was one of them that protested against it. Now these stingy persecutors of New-England were a people that fled out of Old England thither, from the persecution of the bishops here: but when they had got power into their hands, they so far exceeded the bishops in severity and cruelty, that whereas the bishops had made them pay twelve pence a Sunday (so called) for not coming to their worship here, they imposed a fine of five shillings a day upon such as should not conform to their will-worship there; and spoiled the goods of friends that could not pay it. Besides, many they imprisoned, divers they whipped, and that most cruelly; of some they cut off ears, and some they hanged; as the books of friends sufferings in New-England largely shew, particularly a book written by George Bishop of Bristol, entitled, New-England judged. (In two parts). Some of the old royalists were earnest with friends to have prosecuted them, but we told them, we left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it. And the judgments of God have since fallen heavy on them, for the Indians have been raised up against them, and have cut off many of them.

About this time I lost a very good book, being taken in the printer's hands: it was a useful teaching book, containing the signification and explanation of names, parables, types and figures in the scriptures. They who took it were so affected with it, that they were loth to have destroyed it; but thinking to have made a great advantage of it, they would have let us have had it again, if we would have given them a great sum of money for it; which we were not free to do.

And some time before this, while I was prisoner in Lancaster castle, the book called the Battledore, came forth, which was written to shew, that in all languages Thou and Thee is the proper and usual form of speech to a single person; and You to more than one. This was set forth in examples or instances taken out of the scriptures, and out of books of teaching, in about thirty languages. J. Stubbs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in the compiling of it, which I put them upon; and some things I added to it. When it was finished, some of them were presented to the king and his council, to the bishops of Canterbury and London, and to the two universities one a piece; and many bought of them. The king said it was the proper language of all nations; and the bishop of Canterbury being asked what he thought of it, was so at a stand, that he could not tell what to say to it. For it did so inform and convince people, that few afterward were so rugged

towards us, for saying thou and thee to a single person, which before they were exceeding fierce against us for. For this thou and thee was a sore cut to proud flesh, and them that sought self-honour, who though they would say it to God and Christ, would not endure to have it said to themselves. So that we were often beaten and abused, and sometimes in danger of our lives, for using those words to some proud men, who would say, What, you ill-bred clown, do you Thou me? as though there lay breeding in saying You to one; which was contrary to all their grammars and teaching books, by which they had taught and instructed their youth.

Now the bishops and priests being busy and eager to settle and set up their form of worship, and compel all to come to it, I was moved to give forth the following paper, to open unto people the nature of the true worship which Christ set up, and which God accepts; thus:

‘ Christ’s worship is free in the spirit to all men; and such as worship in the spirit and in the truth, are they that God seeks to worship him: for he is the God of truth, and is a Spirit, and the God of the spirits of all flesh. And he hath given to all the nations of men and women breath and life, to live, and move, and have their being in him; and hath put into them an immortal soul. So all the nations of men and women are to be temples for him to dwell in; and they that defile his temple, them will he destroy. Now as the outward Jews, while they had their outward temple at outward Jerusalem, were to go up thither to worship (which temple God hath long since thrown down, and destroyed that Jerusalem, the vision of peace; and cast off the Jews and their worship; and in the room thereof hath set up his gospel-worship in the spirit and in the truth), so now all are to worship in the spirit and in the truth. And this is a free worship: for where the Spirit of the Lord is, and ruleth, there is liberty: and the fruits of the Spirit are seen, and will manifest themselves; and the Spirit is not to be limited, but to be lived and walked in; that the fruits of it may appear. The tares are such, as hang upon the wheat to weigh it down, and thereby to draw it down to the earth; yet the tares and the wheat must grow together, till the harvest, lest they that take upon them to pluck up the tares, should pluck up the wheat with the tares. The tares are such as worship not God in the spirit and in the truth; but do grieve the spirit, and vex it, and quench it in themselves, and walk not in the truth: yet will scraul and hang about the wheat, the true wor-

shippers in the spirit and in the truth. Christ's church was never established by blood, nor held up by prisons; neither was the foundation of it laid by carnal, weaponed men, nor is it preserved by such. But when men went from the spirit and truth, then they took up carnal weapons to maintain their outward forms, and yet cannot preserve them with their carnal weapons; for one plucketh down another's form with his outward weapons. And this work and doing hath been among the Christians in name, since they lost the spirit and spiritual weapons, and the true worship which Christ set up, that is in the spirit and in the truth, which spirit and truth they that worship in, are over all the tares. All that would be plucking up the tares are forbidden by Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; for the tares and the wheat must grow together till the harvest, as Christ hath commanded. The stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth; now, if the stone do fill the whole earth, all nations must be temples for the stone. And all that say they do travail for the seed, and yet bring forth nothing but a birth of strife, and contention, and confusion; their fruit shews their travail to be wrong; for by the fruit the end of every one's work is seen of what sort it is.'

G. F.

About this time many papists and jesuits began to fawn upon friends, and talked up and down where they came, that of all the sects the Quakers were the best and most self-denying people; and said it was great pity that they did not return to the holy mother church: thus they made a buz among the people, and said they would willingly discourse with friends. But friends were loth to meddle with them, because they were jesuits, looking upon it to be both dangerous and scandalous. But when I understood it, I said to friends, Let us discourse with them, be they what they will. So a time being appointed at Gerrard Roberts's house, there came two of them like courtiers. When we were come together, they asked our names, which we told them; but we did not ask their names, for we understood they were called Papists, and they knew we were called Quakers. I asked them the same question that I had formerly asked a jesuit, namely, whether the church of Rome was not degenerated from the church in the primitive times, from the spirit, and power, and practice, that they were in in the apostles' times? He to whom I put this question being subtile, said he would not answer it. I asked him why; but he would shew no reason. His companion

said he would answer me ; and he said they were not degenerated from the church in the primitive times. I asked the other whether he was of the same mind, and he said yes. Then I told them, that for the better understanding one another, and that there might be no mistake, I would repeat my question over again after this manner, Whether the church of Rome now was in the same purity, practice, power, and spirit, that the church in the apostles' time was in ? When they saw we would be exact with them, they flew off, and denied that, saying, It was presumption in any to say, they had the same power and spirit which the apostles had. But I told them, it was presumption in them to meddle with the words of Christ and his apostles, and make people believe they succeeded the apostles, and yet be forced to confess they were not in the same power and spirit that the apostles were in. This, said I, is a spirit of presumption, and rebuked by the apostles' spirit. Then I shewed them how different their fruits and practices were from the fruits and practices of the apostles. Then got up one of them and said, Ye are a company of dreamers. Nay, said I, ye are the filthy dreamers, who dream ye are the apostles' successors ; and yet confess ye have not the same power and spirit which the apostles were in. And are not they defilers of the flesh who say, it is presumption in any to say, they have the same power and spirit which the apostles had ? Now, said I, if ye have not the same power and spirit which the apostles had, then it is manifest that ye are led by another power and spirit than the apostles and church in the primitive times were led by. Then I began to tell them how that evil spirit, which they were led by, had led them to pray by beads, and to images ; and to set up nunneries, and frieries, and monasteries, and to put people to death for their religion : and this practice of theirs I shewed them, was below the law, and far short of the gospel, in which is liberty. They were soon weary of this discourse, and went their way, and gave a charge (as we heard) to the papists, that they should not dispute with us, nor read any of our books ; so we were rid of them. But we had reasonings with all the other sects, as presbyterians, independents, seekers, baptists, episcopal-men, socinians, brownists, lutherans, calvinists, armenians, fifth-monarchy-men, familists, muggletonians, and ranters ; none of which would affirm they had the same power and spirit that the apostles had, and were in : so in that power and spirit the Lord gave us dominion over them all.

As for the fifth-monarchy-men, I was moved to give forth a paper to them, to manifest their error to them ; for they

looked for Christ's personal coming in an outward form and manner; and they fixed the time of it to the year 1666; at which time some of them did prepare themselves when it thundered and rained, thinking Christ was then come to set up his kingdom: and then they imagined they were to kill the whore without them. But I told them the whore was alive in them, and was not burnt with God's fire, nor judged in them with the same power and spirit the apostles were in. And their looking for Christ's coming outwardly, to set up his kingdom, was like the pharisees' lo here, and lo there. But Christ was come, and had set up his kingdom above sixteen hundred years ago (according to Nebuchadnezzar's dream and Daniel's prophecy) and he had dashed to pieces the four monarchies, the great image, with its head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, legs of iron, and feet part of iron, part of clay: and they were all blown away with God's wind, as the chaff in the summer threshing floor. And when Christ was on earth, he said his kingdom was not of this world: if it had been, his servants would have fought, but it was not, therefore his servants did not fight. And therefore all the fifth-monarchy-men that be fighters with carnal weapons, are none of Christ's servants, but the beast's and the whore's. Christ said, "all power in heaven and in earth is given to me:" so then his kingdom was set up above sixteen hundred years ago, and he reigns. And we see Jesus reign, said the apostle, and he shall reign, till all things be put under his feet; though all things are not yet put under his feet, nor subdued.

This year several friends were moved to go beyond the seas, to publish Truth in foreign countries. John Stubbs, and Henry Fell, and Richard Costrop, were moved to go towards China, and Prester John's country; but no masters of ships would carry them. With much ado they got a warrant from the king; but the East-India Company found ways to avoid it, and the masters of their ships would not carry them. Then they went into Holland, hoping to have got passage there, but no passage could they get there neither. Then John Stubbs and Henry Fell took shipping to go to Alexandria in Egypt, intending to go by the caravans from thence. Mean while Daniel Baker being to go to Smyrna, he drew Richard Costrop, contrary to his own freedom, to go along with him. And in the passage Richard falling sick, Daniel Baker left him sick in the ship, where he died: but that hard-hearted man afterwards lost his own condition.

John Stubbs and Henry Fell got to Alexandria in Egypt;

but they had not been long there before the English consul banished them from thence: yet before they came away, they dispersed many books and papers there, for the opening the principles and way of truth to the Turks and Grecians. They gave the book called, *The Pope's Strength Broken*, to an old friar, for him to give or send to the pope: which book, when the friar had perused, he clapped his hand upon his breast, and confessed what was written therein was truth: but, said he, if I should confess it openly, they would burn me. So John Stubbs and Henry Fell, not being suffered to go further, returned to England; and came to London again. And John had a vision, that the English and Dutch, who had joined together not to carry them, would fall out one with the other: and so it came to pass.

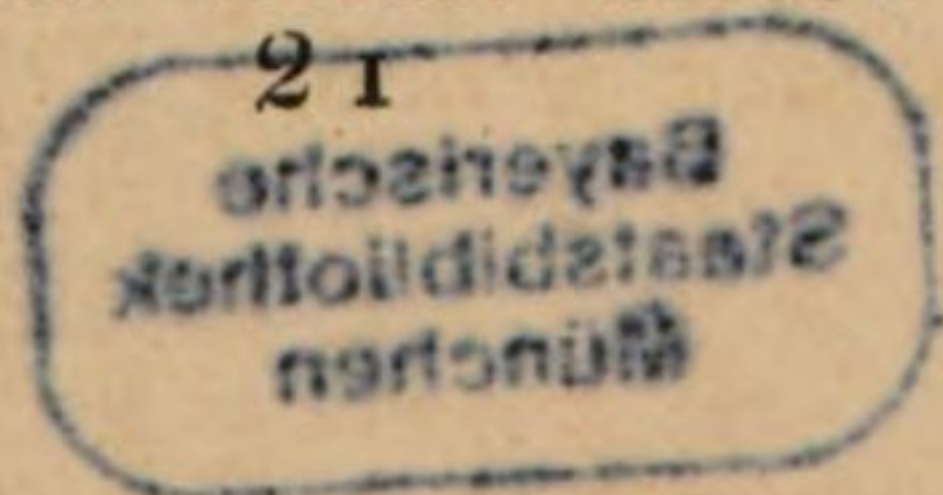
Having now staid in London some time, I felt drawings to visit friends in Essex. So I went down to Colchester, where I had very large meetings; and from thence to Coggeshal, not far from which there was a priest convinced; and I had a meeting at his house. And so travelling a little up and down in those parts, and visiting friends in their meetings thereaways, I returned pretty quickly to London, where I found great service for the Lord; for a large door was opened, and many flocked in to our meetings, and the Lord's truth spread mightily this year. Yet friends had great travails and sore labours, the rude people having been so heightened by the monarchy-men's rising a little before. But the Lord's power was over all, and in it friends had dominion, though we had not only those sufferings without, but sufferings within also by John Perrot and his company, who giving heed to a spirit of delusion, sought to introduce and set up among friends that evil and uncomely practice of keeping on the hat in time of public prayers. Now friends had spoken to him and divers of his followers about it, and I had written to them concerning it, but he and some others rather strengthened themselves against friends therein. Wherefore feeling the judgments of truth rise against it, I gave forth the following lines, as a warning to all that were concerned therein:

‘ Whosoever is tainted with this spirit of John Perrot, it will perish. Mark theirs and his end, that are turned into those outward things and janglings about them, and that which is not savoury, all which is for perpetual judgment, and is to be swept and cleansed out of the camp of God's elect. This is to that spirit, that is gone into jangling about that which is below, (the rotten principle of

the old ranters) and gone from the invisible power of God, in which is the everlasting fellowship; and so many are become like the corn on the house-top, and like the untimely figs, and now clamour and speak against them that be in the power of God. O consider, the light and power of God goes over you all, and leaves you in the fretting nature, out of the unity, which is in the everlasting light, life, and power of God. Consider this before the day be gone from you, and take heed that your memorial be not rooted out from among the righteous."

G. F.

Among the exercises and troubles that friends had from without, one was concerning friends' marriages, which sometimes were called in question. And in this year there happened to be a cause tried at the assize at Nottingham concerning a friend's marriage; the case was thus. Some years before two friends were joined together in marriage amongst friends, and lived together as man and wife about two years. Then the man died, leaving his wife with child, and leaving an estate in lands of copyhold. When the woman was delivered, the jury presented the child heir to its father's lands, and accordingly the child was admitted; afterwards another friend married the widow. And after that a man that was near of kin to her former husband, brought his action against the friend that had last married her, endeavouring to dispossess them, and deprive the child of the inheritance, and to possess himself thereof as next heir to the woman's first husband. And to effect this he endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate, alleging the marriage was not according to law. In opening the cause, the plaintiff's counsel did use unseemly words concerning friends, saying that they went together like brute beasts, with other ill expressions. After the counsels on both sides had pleaded, the judge (viz. Judge Archer) took the matter in hand, and opened it to the jury, telling them that there was a marriage in Paradise when Adam took Eve and Eve took Adam, and that it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage. And for the Quakers, he said, he did not know their opinions, but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts, as had been said of them, but as Christians; and therefore did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir. And the better to satisfy the jury, he brought them a case to this purpose. A man that was weak of body, and kept his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and did declare before witnesses that he



did take such a woman to be his wife, and the woman declared that she took that man to be her husband. This marriage was afterwards called in question; and (as the judge said) all the bishops did at that time conclude it to be a lawful marriage. Hereupon the jury gave in their verdict for the friend's child, and against the man that would have deprived it of its inheritance.

About this time the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered unto friends, as a snare, because it was known we could not swear, and thereupon many were imprisoned, and divers premunired. Upon that occasion friends published in print the grounds and reasons why they refused to swear; besides which I was moved to give forth these few lines following, to be given to the magistrates:

"The world saith, Kiss the book; but the book saith, Kiss the Son, lest he be angry. And the Son saith, Swear not at all, but keep to yea and nay in all your communications; for whatsoever is more than this, cometh of evil. Again, the world saith, Lay your hand on the book, but the book saith, Handle the word; and the word saith, Handle not the traditions, nor the inventions, nor the rudiments of the world. And God saith, This is my beloved Son, hear him, who is the life, and the truth, and the light, and the way to God."

G. F.

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